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THIRTEEN

Edw. L. Walter

SATIRES OF JUVENAL

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY THE

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ABRIDGED, WITH ADDITIONS,

BY THE

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PREFACE TO AMERICAN EDITION.

My purpose in preparing this edition of the Satires of Juvenal has been to make Mr. Macleane's notes accessible to American undergraduates. The text is that of Mr. Long's revision of Mr. Macleane's work, without alteration, except that three Satires are omitted. The greater part of the notes consists of an abridgment of those which are contained in the same work, the matter omitted being chiefly quotations from other classical authors and discussions as to readings and interpretations. In making this abridgment, the arrangement of sentences has been sometimes altered; and material has been freely incorporated into the notes from the new edition of Mr. Mayor's commentary (extending now to the end of the seventh Satire), from that of Heinrich, and from other sources. Notes on construction have also been inserted; and, wherever they seemed necessary or desirable, references have been given to several of the Grammars in most com-

mon use. The Life of Juvenal is from Macleane; and the arguments are based on his, but they have been entirely rewritten. I may add that I have procured from the English publishers their full consent to the publication of the work which is now submitted to American teachers and students.

S. H.

TRINITY COLLEGE, July, 1878.

LIFE OF JUVENAL.

The character of Horace's mind was such, that his own experience and the events of his life come naturally into his writings, and a tolerably full and accurate biography of that poet has been gathered from his own pen. His poems form a gallery of contemporary portraits, including his own picture in every stage of life. It is not so with Juvenal. He had to deal with vice and folly more than a century older than the vice and folly of Horace's day, and a tyranny which Horace never witnessed. The playful personalities of Horace did not suit Juvenal's subject, and would not have represented his way of viewing it; nor did they suit the severe and defiant spirit in which he approached it. The consequence is that the traces of Juvenal's life in his Satires are very slight.

Adopting such data as appear to have any probability in them, the following may be laid down as a sketch of Juvenal's life, without pretending to accuracy, for which there are no materials.

His name was Decius Junius Juvenalis.

He was born possibly at Aquinum, in Latium, about the beginning of Nero's reign, that is soon after A.D. 54, of respectable parents, his father being a rich libertinus, and

he himself therefore ingenuus. He received the usual education of a Roman boy and youth. He took the 'toga virilis' about the beginning of Vespasian's reign, A.D. 70; and, having learnt rhetoric in the schools, he continued to practise it as a man, not professionally, but for his own amusement, through the reign of Vespasian and the greater part of Domitian's, that is till the year A.D. 94, in which year, or the next, he by some means offended Domitian, and was sent by him into Egypt with a military command, such as civilians often received during the Empire. In A.D. 96, Domitian was killed and Nerva succeeded him. Then, or soon afterwards, Juvenal was allowed to give up his command and return to Rome, being at the time of his return about forty years of age. An epigram of Martial proves that he was not altogether independent or comfortable about this time. Nerva reigned less than two years, and Trajan succeeded to the empire A.D. 98; and in the early part of his reign, soon after A.D. 100, Juvenal first published a volume of Satires (of which the first in our collection was one), having already recited them to large audiences. It is not unlikely that some of these, or parts of them, had been composed in the reign of Domitian, or even earlier, but that the poet had not ventured to make them public. He continued to write freely during Trajan's reign, which ended A.D. 117, when Juvenal was about sixty, and during the early years of Hadrian's reign, that is till about A.D. 120. During this reign he may have lived in comfort through the liberality of the emperor, though his household was on a frugal scale, as he tells us in Satire xi., from which we learn that he had property at Tibur. It is not impossible that he may have lived till the accession of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded

Hadrian A.D. 138, when Juvenal was, according to the sketch, eighty or a little more.

Thus the statements of the Grammarians in respect to the poet's age, and of that writer who says he died of old age in the time of Antoninus Pius, would be borne out. I have also allowed the fact of an honorable banishment into Egypt, though not the cause assigned by the Grammarians (the supposed attack on the pantomime Paris), which is impossible. That Juvenal did not professedly compose satire till late in life, is admitted and accounted for. Likewise that he may have written verses before he ventured to publish them, and that some of these were afterwards incorporated with his Satires, is allowed. It is also admitted that he attended the usual schools in early life, and practised rhetoric till middle age. Beyond these facts the Grammarians, I believe, have been misled.

Independently of the chronological difficulties in respect to Paris, it does not appear that the verses quoted by the Grammarians (vii. 90–92) were ever intended as a satire on him, but if any thing as a compliment. So at least they appear in the connection in which we have them. And it is perfectly clear that in that connection they could not have given offence to the emperor, whoever he was, since the Satire sets out from the first with such praise as the worst of these princes coveted and rewarded, praise for his exclusive support of learning. If therefore it had been possible to admit these verses as the cause of Domitian's displeasure, it must have been when they appeared separately as an epigram, or with a different context from the present, which it must be admitted they do not very well suit, if, as seems certain, the rest of the Satire was written long after Paris's death.

Of Juvenal's personal character it is not very easy to form an estimate from his writings. That his invectives against the vices of his time are not the mere artistic and declamatory compositions which some writers suppose them to be, but the fruits of an honest indignation, of rare powers of sarcasm, and of a large knowledge of the world, I think is manifest. His language is unreserved in dealing with the foulest vices, but there is no appearance of his being himself a loose liver in any part of his writings. When Horace is coarse, he betrays something of sympathy with vice, while Juvenal shows only contempt for it. Although therefore an expurgated edition of Juvenal would have more gaps than an expurgated edition of Horace, a well-regulated mind would be less offended with the entire text of Juvenal than with that of Horace. Juvenal's morality was of a higher and less technical sort than Horace's, and has led some into the notion that he drew it from the purest source, and was in understanding, if not by profession, a Christian. This of course is absurd. He knew human nature, and he knew right from wrong, and was not blinded by self-indulgence, and so was able to state the law of conscience in a way to astonish some Christians to whom that law is very imperfectly known.

Apart from his morality, Juvenal was a great master of words, and had a large fund of illustration. His pictures drawn from real life, as I have observed in the course of the notes, are particularly happy; whether they represent the common room of a tavern, or the deck of a ship, or the inside of a soldier's hut or of a camp, or a school-room, or the greedy crowd at the sportula, or the streets of Rome, or a drunken brawl, these and a hundred other scenes are so drawn that an artist would have no difficulty

in transferring them to canvas. But his hand must be vigorous and his brush free, or he would do no justice to Juvenal.

There is one particular form of lust from which modern wickedness shrinks, but which was one of the worst evils of Roman society under the Empire. This vice is exposed in two Satires of great power (ii., ix.). The wickedness of women was never so unsparingly handled as it is in the sixth Satire, a composition of extraordinary power and variety.* The general degradation of Roman life and manners is exposed in the first, third, and fourteenth Satires, and in the last of these the chief cause of the universal wickedness is laid open in the indifference of parents to the morals of their young children, and the example which handed down vice as an inheritance from father to son. The degradation of the Senate, once the fountain of honor and authority and the proudest institution of a haughty people, but now obedient to the wantonness of a tyrant who mocked its weakness and played with its servility, is amusingly shown in the fourth Satire. The fifth exposes a different sort of servility, that of parasites, who sell their independence and accept contempt for the sake of a meal grudgingly given; a low practice which was more systematized at Rome, if it was not much more common, than it is in our own country. The neglect of literary men has a Satire to itself (the seventh); aristocratic pride has another (the eighth). The cunning of will-hunters is hit off at the end of the twelfth, which is not among the most interesting of these compositions. It relates chiefly to the arrival of a friend after a

* The three Satires just mentioned are omitted from this edition.

dangerous voyage, and is more of the nature of a familiar letter than of a Satire. The dishonesty of the age is described in the thirteenth Satire, which contains some of Juvenal's finest verses, and shows him in the best character. This also is in the form of an epistle to a friend, and so is the eleventh, which contains an invitation to dinner and contrasts the poet's own plainness of living with the luxurious habits of his contemporaries. Thus Juvenal goes through all the great scandals of his day, and treats them unsparingly. The crimes and criminals of former reigns are freely introduced by way of illustration, but this is because the vices of one reign represented those of another, and the names of the dead could be more safely used than of the living. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Otho, Domitian, are all brought up from time to time to point a moral or illustrate some aspect of crime.

The most celebrated of Juvenal's poems, the tenth, has more of the declamatory character, which some of his critics attribute to all. It is on the vanity of human wishes, which is illustrated chiefly by historical examples, and the poem has not much bearing upon the particular character of his times. It is the finest specimen of that sort of composition that I am acquainted with. The fifteenth Satire is connected with a scene of little general interest, an Egyptian squabble, Juvenal's own interest in which can only be accounted for by his having been in the country where it happened. The last Satire, if it had been completed, would have furnished a sketch of military life, sarcastic but good-humored, from which a good deal of information might have been derived.

D. JUNII JUVENALIS

SATIRAE.

SATIRA I.

SEMPER ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri?
Impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
Hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena jam margine libri
Scriptus et in tergo, nec dum finitus, Orestes?
Nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus
Martis, et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. Quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
Pelliculae, quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
Semper et assiduo ruptae lectore columnae.
Exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
Consilium dedimus Sullae privatus ut altum
Dormiret. Stulta est clementia, quum tot ubique
Vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.
Cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo
Per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
Si vacat et placidi rationem admittitis, edam.

Quum tener uxorem ducat spado; Maevia Tuscum
Figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma;
Patricios omnes opibus quum provocet unus,
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba sonabat;
Quum pars Niliacae plebis, quum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmae:
Difficile est satiram non scribere. Nam quis iniquae
Tam patiens Urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
Causidici nova quum veniat lectica Mathonis
Plena ipso; post hunc magni delator amici
Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
Quod superest; quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino;
Quum te summoveant qui testamenta merentur
Noctibus, in caelum quos evehit optima summi
Nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae?
Unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem,
Partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.
Accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis, et sic
Palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.
Quid referam quanta siccum jecur ardeat ira,
Quum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
Pupilli prostantis, et hic damnatus inani
Judicio (quid enim salvis infamia nummis?)
Exsul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
Iratis; at tu, victrix provincia, ploras.
Haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
Haec ego non agitem? Sed quid magis Heracleas
Aut Diomedeas aut mugitum Labyrinthi

Et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem,
Quum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendi
Jus nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,
Doctus et ad calicem vigilanti stertere naso;
Quum fas esse putet curam spectare cohortis
Qui bona donavit praesepibus, et caret omni
Majorum censu dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer? Automedon nam lora tenebat
Ipse lacernatae quum se jactaret amicae.
Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
Quadrivio, quum jam sexta cervice feratur,
Hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
Et multum referens de Maecenate supino,
Signator falso, qui se lautum atque beatum
Exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda?
Occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
Porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam,
Instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas
Per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis: probitas laudatur et alget.
Criminibus debent hortos, praetoria, mensas,
Argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
Quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
Si natura negat facit indignatio versum,
Qualemcunque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.
  Ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
Navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
Paullatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa,
Et maribus nudas ostendit Pyrrha puellas,
Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,

Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.
Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
Major avaritiae patuit sinus? alea quando
Hos animos? Neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
Ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca.
Proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
Armigero! Simplexne furor sestertia centum
Perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?
Quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
Secreto coenavit avus? Nunc sportula primo
Limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae.
Ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
Suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas.
Agnitus accipies; jubet a praecone vocari
Ipsos Trojugenas; nam vexant limen et ipsi
Nobiscum. "Da Praetori, da deinde Tribuno."
Sed libertinus prior est. "Prior," inquit, "ego adsum:
Cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
Natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
Arguerint licet ipse negem: sed quinque tabernae
Quadringenta parant. Quid confert purpura major
Optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
Conductas Corvinus oves? ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis." Exspectent ergo Tribuni;
Vincant divitiae, sacro nec cedat honori
Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis;
Quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
Majestas, etsi funesta Pecunia templo
Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
Ut colitur Pax atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
Quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
Sed quum summus honor finito computet anno

Sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
Quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
Et panis fumusque domi? Densissima centum
Quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
Languida vel praegnans et circumducitur uxor.
Hic petit absenti, nota jam callidus arte,
Ostendens vacuam et clausam pro conjuge sellam.
"Galla mea est," inquit; "citius dimitte; moraris."
"Profer, Galla, caput." "Noli vexare, quiescit."
Ipse dies pulcro distinguitur ordine rerum:
Sportula, deinde forum, jurisque peritus Apollo
Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
Nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,
Cujus ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.
Vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
Votaque deponunt, quanquam longissima coenae
Spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.
Optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
Rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse jacebit.
Nam de tot pulcris et latis orbibus et tam
Antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
Nullus jam parasitus erit: sed quis ferat istas
Luxuriae sordes? Quanta est gula quae sibi totos
Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum!
Poena tamen praesens, quum tu deponis amictus
Turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.
It nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula coenas:
Ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.
Nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat
Posteritas; eadem cupient facientque minores;
Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit. Utere velis,

Totos pande sinus. Dicas hic forsitan, Unde
Ingenium par materiae? unde illa priorum
Scribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet
Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen?
Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?
Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa
Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum media sulcum deducis arena ——.
Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita vehatur
Pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?
"Quum veniet contra digito compesce labellum:
Accusator erit qui verbum dixerit, Hic est.
Securus licet Aeneam Rutulumque ferocem
Committas; nulli gravis est percussus Achilles,
Aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus.
Ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
Criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
Inde irae et lacrimae. Tecum prius ergo voluta
Haec animo ante tubas: galeatum sero duelli
Poenitet." — Experiar quid concedatur in illos
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

SATIRA III.

QUAMVIS digressu veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
Janua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
Secessus. Ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburrae.
Nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
Deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
Tectorum assiduos ac mille pericula saevae
Urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?
Sed dum tota domus rheda componitur una,
Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.
Hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque supellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat silva Camenis.
In vallem Aegeriae descendimus et speluncas
Dissimiles veris. Quanto praestantius esset
Numen aquae, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.
Hic tunc Umbricius, Quando artibus, inquit, honestis
Nullus in Urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
Res hodie minor est here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
Deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
Ire fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas,

Dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
Porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
Cedamus patria: vivant Artorius istic
Et Catulus; maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
Quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
Siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
Et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
Quondam hi cornicines et municipalis arenae
Perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae
Munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgi
Quem libet occidunt populariter: inde reversi
Conducunt foricas: et cur non omnia? quum sint
Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit quoties voluit Fortuna jocari.
Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio; librum
Si malus est nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
Astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
Nec volo nec possum; ranarum viscera nunquam
Inspexi. Ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
Quae mandat, norint alii: me nemo ministro
Fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tanquam
Mancus et exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae.
Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens
Aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis?
Nil tibi se debere putat, nil conferet unquam,
Participem qui te secreti fecit honesti:
Carus erit Verri qui Verrem tempore quo vult
Accusare potest. Tanti tibi non sit opaci
Omnis arena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
Ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
Tristis et a magno semper timearis amico.

Quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris
Et quos praecipue fugiam properabo fateri,
Nec pudor obstabit. Non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem: quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?
Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
Et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
Obliquas, nec non gentilia tympana secum
Vexit et ad Circum jussas prostare puellas.
Ite quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra!
Rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
Et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.
Hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
Hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis,
Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,
Viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
Ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
Promptus et Isaeo torrentior. Ede quid illum
Esse putes? quem vis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
Augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus: omnia novit.
Graeculus esuriens in caelum jusseris ibit.
Ad summam, non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax
Qui sumpsit pennas, mediis sed natus Athenis.
Horum ego non fugiam conchylia? me prior ille
Signabit? fultusque toro meliore recumbet
Advectus Romam quo pruna et cottona vento?
Usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
Hausit Aventini, bacca nutrita Sabina?
Quid, quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
Sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
Et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis, Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,

Miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
Ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito.
Haec eadem licet et nobis laudare; sed illis
Creditur. An melior quum Thaida sustinet, aut quum
Uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo
Cultam palliolo? Mulier nempe ipsa videtur
Non persona loqui: vacua et plana omnia dicas
Infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima.
Nec tamen Antiochus, nec erit mirabilis illic
Aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo:
Natio comoeda est. Rides, majore cachinno
Concutitur; flet si lacrimas conspexit amici,
Nec dolet; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
Accipit endromidem; si dixeris, aestuo, sudat.
Non sumus ergo pares; melior qui semper et omni
Nocte dieque potest alienum sumere vultum,
A facie jactare manus, laudare paratus
Si bene ructavit, si rectum minxit amicus,
Si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
Praeterea sanctum nihil est et ab inguine tutum:
Non matrona Laris, non filia virgo, neque ipse
Sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus.
Horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.
Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.
Et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio, transi
Gymnasia atque audi facinus majoris abollae.
Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum
Discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa
Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
Non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarcus,
Qui gentis vitio nunquam partitur amicum,

Solus habet. Nam quum facilem stillavit in aurem
Exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
Limine summoveor; perierunt tempora longi
Servitii. Nusquam minor est jactura clientis.
  Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
Pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
Currere, quum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
Praecipitem jubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis,
Ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?
Divitis hic servi claudit latus ingenuorum
Filius: alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
Accipiunt donat Calvinae vel Catienae,
Ut semel atque iterum super illam palpitet: at tu,
Quum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, haeres
Et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella.
Da testem Romae tam sanctum quam fuit hospes
Numinis Idaei; procedat vel Numa vel qui
Servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam;
Protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet
Quaestio: "quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
Jugera? quam multa magnaque paropside coenat?"
Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca
Tantum habet et fidei. Jures licet et Samothracum
Et nostrorum aras contemnere fulmina pauper
Creditur atque deos, dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
Quid, quod materiam praebet causasque jocorum
Omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
Si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
Pelle patet: vel si consuto vulnere crassum
Atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.
Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit. "Exeat," inquit,

"Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri
Cujus res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
Lenonum pueri quocunque in fornice nati,
Hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
Pinnirapi cultos juvenes juvenesque lanistae."
Sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Othoni.
Quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae
Sarcinulis impar? quis pauper scribitur heres?
Quando in consilio est Aedilibus? Agmine facto
Debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.
Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi: sed Romae durior illis
Conatus; magno hospitium miserabile, magno
Servorum ventres et frugi coenula magno.
Fictilibus coenare pudet, quod turpe negavit
Translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
Contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo.
Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. Ipsa dierum
Festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
Majestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, quum personae pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
Aequales habitus illic similemque videbis
Orchestram et populum: clari velamen honoris,
Sufficiunt tunicae summis Aedilibus albae.
Hic ultra vires habitus nitor; hic aliquid plus
Quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
Commune id vitium est: hic vivimus ambitiosa
Paupertate omnes. Quid te moror? Omnia Romae
Cum pretio. Quid das ut Cossum aliquando salutes?
Ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?

Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati;
Plena domus libis venalibus! Accipe et istud
Fermentum tibi habe: praestare tributa clientes
Cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.
Quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam
Aut positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis, aut
Simplicibus Gabiis, aut proni Tiburis arce?
Nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
Magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus obstat
Villicus et veteris rimae contexit hiatum,
Securos pendente jubet dormire ruina.
Vivendum est illic ubi nulla incendia, nulli
Nocte metus. Jam poscit aquam, jam frivola transfert
Ucalegon; tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant;
Tu nescis: nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur
A pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
Lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex,
Ornamentum abaci; nec non et parvulus infra
Cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron;
Jamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
Et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
Nil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen illud
Perdidit infelix totum nihil: ultimus autem
Aerumnae cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
Nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque juvabit.
Si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
Pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor;
Tunc gemimus casus Urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
Ardet adhuc et jam accurrit qui marmora donet,
Conferat impensas. Hic nuda et candida signa,
Hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycleti,

Haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
Hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
Hic modium argenti: meliora et plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus, et merito jam
Suspectus tanquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.
Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Sorae
Aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
Quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
Hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
In tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
Vive bidentis amans et culti villicus horti,
Unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
Est aliquid, quocunque loco, quocunque recessu,
Unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

Plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando: sed illum
Languorem peperit cibus imperfectus et haerens
Ardenti stomacho. Nam quae meritoria somnum
Admittunt? Magnis opibus dormitur in Urbe.
Inde caput morbi. Rhedarum transitus arto
Vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
Eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.
Si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
Dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburno,
Atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus,
Namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
Ante tamen veniet: nobis properantibus obstat
Unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
Qui sequitur; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
Alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
Pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
Calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?

Centum convivae; sequitur sua quemque culina.
Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
Impositas capiti, quot recto vertice portat
Servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
Scinduntur tunicae sartae modo; longa coruscat
Sarraço veniente abies, atque altera pinum
Plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur:
Nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
Axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
Quid superest de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
Invenit? Obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
More animae. Domus interea secura patellas
Jam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
Striglibus et pleno componit lintea gutto.
Haec inter pueros varie properantur: at ille
Jam sedet in ripa tetrumque novicius horret
Porthmea, nec sperat coenosi gurgitis alnum
Infelix, nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.
  Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis:
Quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum
Testa ferit, quoties rimosa et curta fenestris
Vasa cadunt; quanto percussum pondere signent
Et laedant silicem. Possis ignavus haberi
Et subiti casus improvidus, ad coenam si
Intestatus eas. Adeo tot fata quot illa
Nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae.
Ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
Ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
  Ebrius ac petulans qui nullum forte cecidit
Dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus.
Ergo non aliter poterit dormire? Quibusdam

Somnum rixa facit: sed quamvis improbus annis
Atque mero fervens cavet hunc quem coccina laena
Vitari jubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
Multum praeterea flammarum et aënea lampas:
Me quem Luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
Candelae, cujus dispenso et tempero filum,
Contemnit. Miserae cognosce prooemia rixae,
Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
Stat contra starique jubet; parere necesse est;
Nam quid agas, quum te furiosus cogat et idem
Fortior? "Unde venis?" exclamat: "cujus aceto,
Cujus conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum
Sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
Nil mihi respondes? Aut dic aut accipe calcem.
Ede ubi consistas: in qua te quaero proseucha?"
Dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
Tantundem est; feriunt pariter; vadimonia deinde
Irati faciunt. Libertas pauperis haec est:
Pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat,
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
  Nec tamen haec tantum metuas: nam qui spoliet te
Non deerit, clausis domibus postquam omnis ubique
Fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
Armato quoties tutae custode tenentur
Et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus:
Sic inde huc omnes tanquam ad vivaria currunt.
Qua fornace graves, qua non incude, catenae?
Maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas ne
Vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis

Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
His alias poteram et plures subnectere causas:
Sed jumenta vocant et sol inclinat; eundum est.
Nam mihi commota jam dudum mulio virga
Innuit. Ergo vale nostri memor, et quoties te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
Me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam
Converte a Cumis. Satirarum ego, ni pudet illas,
Adjutor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros.

SATIRA IV.

ECCE iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
Ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
A vitiis, aeger solaque libidine fortis:
Delicias viduae tantum aspernatur adulter.
Quid refert igitur quantis jumenta fatiget
Porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra
Jugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
Nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
Incestus, cum quo nuper vittata jacebat
Sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.
Sed nunc de factis levioribus: et tamen alter
Si fecisset idem caderet sub judice morum.
Nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque decebat
Crispinum. Quid agas quum dira et foedior omni
Crimine persona est? Mullum sex millibus emit
Aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
Ut perhibent qui de magnis majora loquuntur.
Consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
Praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi.
Est ratio ulterior magnae si misit amicae,
Quae vehitur clauso latis specularibus antro.
Nil tale exspectes: emit sibi. Multa videmus
Quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. Hoc tu
Succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro.
Hoc pretium squamae! Potuit fortasse minoris
Piscator quam piscis emi. Provincia tanti

Vendit agros: sed majores Apulia vendit.
Quales tunc epulas ipsum glutisse putamus
Induperatorem, quum tot sestertia, partem
Exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine coenae,
Purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
Jam princeps Equitum, magna qui voce solebat
Vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros.
Incipe, Calliope, licet et considere: non est
Cantandum, res vera agitur: narrate, puellae
Pierides: prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.
Quum jam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
Incidet Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
Implevitque sinus: neque enim minor haeserat illis
Quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
Solibus effundit torpentis ad ostia Ponti,
Desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
Destinat hoc monstrum cymbae linique magister
Pontifici summo. Quis enim proponere talem
Aut emere auderet, quum plena et litora multo
Delatore forent? Dispersi protinus algae
Inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
Non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
Depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris; inde
Elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
Si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
Quidquid conspicuum pulcrumque est aequore toto
Res fisci est ubicunque natat. Donabitur ergo
Ne pereat. Jam letifero cedente pruinis
Autumno, jam quartanam sperantibus aegris,
Stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem

Servabat: tamen hic properat velut urgeat Auster:
Utque lacus suberant, ubi quanquam diruta servat
Ignem Trojanum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
Obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper.
Ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
Exclusi spectant admissa obsonia Patres.
Itur ad Atriden. Tum Picens, "Accipe," dixit,
"Privatis majora focis: genialis agatur
Iste dies: propera stomachum laxare saginis,
Et tua servatum consume in secula rhombum.
Ipse capi voluit." Quid apertius? et tamen illi
Surgebant cristae. Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit quum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
Sed deerat pisci patinae mensura. Vocantur
Ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
In quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
Pallor amicitiae. Primus clamante Liburno
"Currite, jam sedit!" rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo villicus Urbi.
Anne aliud tunc praefecti? quorum optimus atque
Interpres legum sanctissimus; omnia quanquam
Temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
Justitia. Venit et Crispi jucunda senectus,
Cujus erant mores qualis facundia, mite
Ingenium. Maria ac terras populosque regenti
Quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
Saevitiam damnare et honestum afferre liceret
Consilium? Sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
Cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
Vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
Ille igitur nunquam direxit brachia contra
Torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset

Verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero.
Sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit
Solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
Proximus ejusdem properabat Acilius aevi
Cum juvene indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret
Et Domini gladiis tam festinata: sed olim
Prodigio par est cum nobilitate senectus:
Unde fit, ut malim fraterculus esse Gigantis.
Profuit ergo nihil misero quod cominus ursos
Figebat Numidas Albana nudus arena
Venator. Quis enim jam non intelligat artes
Patricias? Quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? Facile est barbato imponere regi.
Nec melior vultu quamvis ignobilis ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
Et tamen improbior satiram scribente cinaedo.
Montani quoque venter adest, abdomine tardus,
Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo
Quantum vix redolent duo funera; saevior illo
Pompeius tenui jugulos aperire susurro;
Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa;
Et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
Qui nunquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
Grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
Caecus adulator, dirusque a ponte satelles,
Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
Blandaque devexae jactaret basia rhedae.
Nemo magis rhombum stupuit: nam plurima dixit
In laevum conversus, at illi dextra jacebat
Bellua. Sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
Et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.

Non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
Percussus, Bellona, tuo, divinat et "Ingens
Omen habes," inquit, "magni clarique triumphi:
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus: peregrina est bellua; cernis
Erectas in terga sudes?" Hoc defuit unum
Fabricio patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
"Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?" "Absit ab illo
Dedecus hoc," Montanus ait: "testa alta paretur,
Quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
Debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
Argillam atque rotam citius properate: sed ex hoc
Tempore jam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur."
Vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille
Luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
Jam medias aliamque famem, quum pulmo Falerno
Arderet. Nulli major fuit usus edendi
Tempestate mea. Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu,
Et semel aspecti littus dicebat echini.
Surgitur, et misso proceres exire jubentur
Consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
Traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
Tanquam de Cattis aliquid torvisque Sigambris
Dicturus, tanquam diversis partibus orbis
Anxia praecipiti venisset epistola penna.
Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit Urbi
Illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
Sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
Coeperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

SATIRA V.

SI te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
Ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra;
Si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas, nec vilis Galba tulisset,
Quamvis jurato metuam tibi credere testi.
Ventre nihil novi frugalius. Hoc tamen ipsum
Defecisse puta quod inani sufficit alvo:
Nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
Dimidia brevior? tantine injuria coenae?
Tam jejuna fames, possis cum honestius illic
Et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini?
  Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere jussus
Mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
Fructus amicitiae magnae cibus: imputat hunc rex,
Et quamvis rarum tamen imputat. Ergo duos post
Si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
"Una simus," ait. Votorum summa: quid ultra
Quaeris? Habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
Debeat et ligulas dimittere sollicitus ne
Tota salutatrix jam turba peregerit orbem
Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore quo se
Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootae.
Qualis coena tamen? Vinum quod sucida nolit
Lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis.

Jurgia proludunt: sed mox et pocula torques
Saucius et rubra deterges vulnera mappa,
Inter vos quoties libertorumque cohortem
Pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagena.
Ipse capillato diffusum Consule potat
Calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam,
Cardiaco nunquam cyathum missurus amico.
Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cujus patriam titulumque senectus
Delevit multa veteris fuligine testae;
Quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. Ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales beryllo
Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum;
Vel, si quando datur, custos affixus ibidem
Qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
"Da veniam: praeclara illic laudatur iaspis."
Nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
A digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
Ponere zelotypo juvenis praelatus Iarbae.
Tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem nasorum quatuor, ac jam
Quassatum et rupto poscentem sulfura vitro.
Si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
Frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis:
Non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar?
Vos aliam potatis aquam. Tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri,
Et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem
Clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae.
Flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio majore paratus
Quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci

Et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
Frivola. Quod quum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
Respice quum sities. Nescit tot millibus emptus
Pauperibus miscere puer: sed forma, sed aetas
Digna supercilio. Quando ad te pervenit ille?
Quando vocatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?
Quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,
Quodque aliquid poscas et quod se stante recumbas.
Maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.
Ecce alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
Vix fractum, solidae jam mucida frusta farinae,
Quae genuinum agitent non admittentia morsum:
Sed tener et niveus mollique siligine factus
Servatur domino. Dextram cohibere memento:
Salva sit artoptae reverentia. Finge tamen te
Improbulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat.
"Vis tu consuetis audax conviva canistris
Impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?"—
"Scilicet hoc fuerat propter quod saepe relicta
Conjuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva quum grandine vernus
Juppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo!"—
Aspice quam longo distendat pectore lancem
Quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique septa
Asparagis, qua despiciat convivia cauda
Quum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.
Sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
Ponitur, exigua feralis coena patella.
Ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit: at hic qui
Pallidus affertur misero tibi caulis olebit
Laternam: illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod
Canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,

Propter quod Romae cum Bocchare nemo lavatur,
Quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus Afros.
Mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
Et jam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit
Retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello
Proxima, nec patitur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
Instruit ergo focum provincia; sumitur illinc
Quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.
Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
Gurgite de Siculo; nam dum se continet Auster,
Dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pennas,
Contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim.
Vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
Aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse
Vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca,
Et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburrae.
  Ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
Nemo petit modicis quae mittebantur amicis
A Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
Largiri: namque et titulis et fascibus olim
Major habebatur donandi gloria: solum
Poscimus ut coenes civiliter. Hoc face et esto,
Esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi pauper amicis.
  Anseris ante ipsum magni jecur, anseribus par
Altilis et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
Fumat aper: post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
Tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua coenas
Majores. "Tibi habe frumentum," Allidius inquit,
"O Libye; disjunge boves dum tubera mittas."
Structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
Saltantem spectas et chironomunta volanti

Cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
Omnia. Nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
Quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
Duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
Et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris unquam
Hiscere, tanquam habeas tria nomina. Quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitque tuis contacta labellis
Pocula? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
Perditus, ut dicat regi, bibe? Plurima sunt quae
Non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.
Quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
Et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus
Ex nihilo fieres, quantus Virronis amicus!
"Da Trebio! pone ad Trebium! Vis, frater, ab istis
Ilibus?" O nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
Vos estis fratres. Dominus tamen et domini rex
Si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
Luserit Aeneas, nec filia dulcior illo:
Jucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.
Sed tua nunc Migale pariat licet et pueros tres
In gremium patris fundat simul, ipse loquaci
Gaudebit nido; viridem thoraca jubebit
Afferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
Ad mensam quoties parasitus venerit infans.
Vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
Boletus domino; sed quales Claudius edit
Ante illum uxoris post quem nil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa jubebit
Poma dari quorum solo pascaris odore:
Qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
Credere quae possis surrepta sororibus Afris:
Tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit,

Qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
Discit ab hirsuta jaculum torquere capella.
Forsitan impensae Virronem parcere credas.
Hoc agit ut doleas: nam quae comoedia, mimus
Quis melior plorante gula? Ergo omnia fiunt,
Si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
Cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
Tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris:
Captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
Nec male conjectat. Quis enim tam nudus ut illum
Bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
Vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
Spes bene coenandi vos decipit. "Ecce dabit jam
Semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri:
Ad nos jam veniet minor altilis." Inde parato
Intactoque omnes et stricto pane tacetis.
Ille sapit qui te sic utitur. Omnia ferre
Si potes, et debes. Pulsandum vertice raso
Praebebis quandoque caput, nec dura timebis
Flagra pati his epulis et tali dignus amico.

SATIRA VII.

ET spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum:
Solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
Respexit, quum jam celebres notique poetae
Balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
Temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
Praecones fieri; quum desertis Aganippes
Vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
Nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
Ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae,
Et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit
Stantibus, oenophorum, tripodes, armaria, cistas,
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti,
Hoc satius quam si dicas sub judice "Vidi,"
Quod non vidisti; faciant equites Asiani,
Quanquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,
Altera quos nudo traducit Gallia talo.
Nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
Cogetur posthac, nectit quicunque canoris
Eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
Hoc agite, o juvenes: circumspicit et stimulat vos
Materiamque sibi Ducis indulgentia quaerit.
Si qua aliunde putas rerum exspectanda tuarum
Praesidia, atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
Impletur, lignorum aliquid posce ocius, et quae
Componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,

Aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
Frange miser calamos vigilataque proelia dele,
Qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella
Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
Spes nulla ulterior: didicit jam dives avarus
Tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
Ut pueri Junonis avem. Sed defluit aetas
Et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
Taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.
  Accipe nunc artes ne quid tibi conferat iste
Quem colis et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta.
Ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos; et si dulcedine famae
Succensus recites maculosas commodat aedes.
Haec longe ferrata domus servire jubetur,
In qua sollicitas imitatur janua portas.
Scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentes
Ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces.
Nemo dabit regum quanti subsellia constent,
Et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo,
Quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
Nos tamen hoc agimus, tenuique in pulvere sulcos
Ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
Nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
Consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos
Scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
Sed vatem egregium cui non sit publica vena,
Qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
Communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
Hunc qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum
Anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi

Impatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
Fontibus Aonidum. Neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumve potest contingere moesta
Paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
Corpus eget: satur est quum dicit Horatius, Euoe!
Quis locus ingenio, nisi quum se carmine solo
Vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
Pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
Magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
Attonitae currus et equos faciesque deorum
Aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys.
Nam si Virgilio puer et tolerabile deesset
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri;
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina. Poscimus ut sit
Non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,
Cujus et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus.
Non habet infelix Numitor quod mittat amico;
Quintillae quod donet habet; nec defuit illi
Unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
Jam domitum: constat leviori bellua sumptu
Nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
Contentus fama jaceat Lucanus in hortis
Marmoreis: at Serrano tenuique Saleio
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
Curritur ad vocem jucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam fecit quum Statius Urbem
Promisitque diem. Tanta dulcedine captos
Afficit ille animos tantaque libidine vulgi
Auditur: sed quum fregit subsellia versu
Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.
Ille et militiae multis largitur honorem,
Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro.

Quod non dant proceres dabit histrio: tu Camerinos
Et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
Haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.
Quis tibi Maecenas? quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
Aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum? quis Lentulus alter?
Tunc par ingenio pretium; tunc utile multis
Pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.
Vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
Scriptores? petit hic plus temporis atque olei plus:
Namque oblita modi millesima pagina surgit
Omnibus et multa crescit damnosa papyro.
Sic ingens rerum numerus jubet atque operum lex.
Quae tamen inde seges? terrae quis fructus apertae?
Quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?
"Sed genus ignavum quod lecto gaudet et umbra."
Dic igitur quid causidicis civilia praestent
Officia et magno comites in fasce libelli.
Ipsi magna sonant, sed tunc quum creditor audit
Praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo
Qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
Tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
Conspuiturque sinus. Veram deprendere messem
Si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
Parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.
Consedere Duces: surgis tu pallidus Ajax
Dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco
Judice. Rumpe miser tensum jecur, ut tibi lasso
Figantur virides scalarum gloria palmae.
Quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas
Pelamydum, aut veteres Afrorum epimenia bulbi,
Aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagenae,

Si quater egisti. Si contigit aureus unus,
Inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.
Aemilio dabitur quantum libet, et melius nos
Egimus: hujus enim stat currus aeneus, alti
Quadrijuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
Bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
Eminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
Sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit; exitus hic est
Tongilli, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
Qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba
Perque forum juvenes longo premit assere Medos,
Empturus pueros, argentum, murrina, villas;
Spondet enim Tyrio stlataria purpura filo.
Et tamen est illis hoc utile: purpura vendit
Causidicum, vendunt amethystina: convenit illis
Et strepitu et facie majoris vivere census.
Sed finem impensae non servat prodiga Roma.
Fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
Nunc dederit nummos nisi fulserit annulus ingens.
Respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
Octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
Ante pedes. Ideo conducta Paullus agebat
Sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Cossus agebat,
Quam Basilus. Rara in tenui facundia panno.
Quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
Quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? Accipiat te
Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem imponere linguae.
  Declamare doces? O ferrea pectora Vetti,
Quum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos!
Nam quaecunque sedens modo legerat haec eadem stans
Perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem.

Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
Quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa
Quaestio, quae veniant diversa parte sagittae,
Nosse velint omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
"Mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?" "Culpa docentis
Scilicet arguitur quod laeva in parte mamillae
Nil salit Arcadio juveni, cujus mihi sexta
Quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet;
Quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat Urbem
A Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
Circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
Quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe quod do
Ut toties illum pater audiat." Haec alii sex
Vel plures uno conclamant ore Sophistae,
Et veras agitant lites raptore relicto;
Fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
Et quae jam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.
Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem si nostra movebunt
Consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
Ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
Summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit
Frumenti: quippe haec merces lautissima. Tempta
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Pollio quanti
Lautorum pueros, artem scindens Theodori.
Balnea sexcentis et pluris porticus in qua
Gestetur dominus quoties pluit. Anne serenum
Exspectet spargatque luto jumenta recenti?
Hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae.
Parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
Surgat et algentem rapiat coenatio solem.
Quanticunque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
Componat, veniet qui pulmentaria condat.

Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano
Ut multum duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
Constabit patri quam filius. "Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus?" Exempla novorum
Fatorum transi. Felix et pulcher et acer,
Felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus
Appositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
Felix orator quoque maximus et jaculator;
Et si perfrixit, cantat bene. Distat enim quae
Sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
Edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
Si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore Consul;
Si volet haec eadem, fies de Consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
Sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.
Felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.
Poenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
Sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carinatis: et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
Nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
Di majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
Spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
Qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco. Metuens virgae jam grandis Achilles
Cantabat patriis in montibus; et cui non tunc
Eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri?
Sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque juventus,
Rufum qui toties Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.

Quis gremio Enceladi doctique Palaemonis affert
Quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
Quodcunque est (minus est autem quam rhetoris aera)

Discipuli custos praemordet Acoenonetus
Et qui dispensat frangit sibi. Cede, Palaemon,
Et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam
Institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci,
Dummodo non pereat mediae quod noctis ab hora
Sedisti qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet
Qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
Dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas
Quot stabant pueri, quum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
Rara tamen merces quae cognitione tribuni
Non egeat. Sed vos saevas imponite leges,
Ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
Ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes,
Tanquam ungues digitosque suos; ut forte rogatus,
Dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
Nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Archemori, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
Exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
Ut si quis cera vultum facit; exigite ut sit
Et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant,
Ne faciant vicibus. "Non est leve tot puerorum
Observare manus oculosque in fine trementes."
"Haec," inquit, "cures et quum se verterit annus
Accipe victori populus quod postulat aurum."

SATIRA VIII.

STEMMATA quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
Sanguine censeri pictosque ostendere vultus
Majorum, et stantes in curribus Aemilianos,
Et Curios jam dimidios, humeroque minorem
Corvinum, et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
Quis fructus generis tabula jactare capaci
Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga
Fumosos Equitum cum Dictatore magistros,
Si coram Lepidis male vivitur? effigies quo
Tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
Ante Numantinos; si dormire incipis ortu
Luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant?
Cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
Natus in Herculeo Fabius Lare, si cupidus, si
Vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna;
Si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
Squalentes traducit avos, emptorque veneni
Frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?
Tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paullus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto;
Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum;
Praecedant ipsas illi te Consule virgas.
Prima mihi debes animi bona: sanctus haberi
Justitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris,

Agnosco procerem. Salve, Gaetulice, seu tu
Silanus, quocunque alio de sanguine, rarus
Civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti.
Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri
Invento. Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc qui
Indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
Insignis? Nanum cujusdam Atlanta vocamus,
Aethiopem cygnum, pravam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
Levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae
Nomen erit pardus, tigris, leo, si quid adhuc est
Quod fremat in terris violentius. Ergo cavebis,
Et metues ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.
His ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli
Plaute. Tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tanquam
Feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses,
Ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
Non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
"Vos humiles," inquis, "vulgi pars ultima nostri,
Quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis:
Ast ego Cecropides!" Vivas et originis hujus
Gaudia longa feras: tamen ima plebe Quiritem
Facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
Nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata
Qui juris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat.
Hic petit Euphraten juvenis domitique Batavi
Custodes aquilas, armis industrius: at tu
Nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus Hermae.
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
Quis generosa putet nisi fortia? nempe volucrem

Sic laudamus equum facili cui plurima palma
Fervet et exsultat rauco victoria Circo.
Nobilis hic, quocunque venit de gramine, cujus
Clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis:
Sed venale pecus Corythae posteritas et
Hirpini si rara jugo Victoria sedit.
Nil ibi majorum respectus, gratia nulla
Umbrarum: dominos pretiis mutare jubentur
Exiguis, trito ducunt epiredia collo
Segnipedes dignique molam versare Nepotis.
Ergo ut miremur te non tua, primum aliquid da
Quod possim titulis incidere, praeter honores
Quos illis damus et dedimus quibus omnia debes.
Haec satis ad juvenem quem nobis fama superbum
Tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo:
Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
Fortuna. Sed te censeri laude tuorum,
Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
Laudis agas. Miserum est aliorum incumbere famae,
Ne collapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
Stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
Integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis
Incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus et admoto dictet perjuria tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
Dignus morte perit, coenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.
Exspectata diu tandem provincia quum te
Rectorem accipiet, pone irae fraena modumque,
Pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum;

Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.
Respice quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,
Praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine justo
Et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante Senatu,
Piratae Cilicum. Sed quid damnatio confert,
Quum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit?
Praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
Jamque tace: furor est post omnia perdere naulum.
Non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par
Damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victis.
Plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervus
Nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
Et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur; nec non Polycleti
Multus ubique labor; rarae sine Mentore mensae.
Inde Dolabella est atque hinc Antonius, inde
Sacrilegus Verres: referebant navibus altis
Occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
Nunc sociis juga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum
Et pater armenti capto eripietur agello;
Ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum,
Si quis in aedicula deus unicus. Haec etenim sunt
Pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. Despicias tu
Forsitan imbelles Rhodios unctamque Corinthum:
Despicias merito. Quid resinata juventus
Cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?
Horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
Illyricumque latus: parce et messoribus illis,
Qui saturant Urbem Circo scenaeque vacantem.
Quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
Quum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?
Curandum imprimis ne magna injuria fiat

Fortibus et miseris: tollas licet omne quod usquam est
Auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
Et jacula et galeam: spoliatis arma supersunt.
Quod modo proposui non est sententia: verum
Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
Si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
Vendit Acersecomes, si nullum in conjuge crimen,
Nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
Unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno;
Tunc licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
Nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
Inter majores ipsumque Promethea ponas:
De quocunque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.
Quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
Si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
Delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
Nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.
Quo mihi te solitum falsas signare tabellas
In templis quae fecit avus statuamque parentis
Ante triumphalem? quo si nocturnus adulter
Tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo?
Praeter majorum cineres atque ossa volucri
Carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
Ipse rotam adstringit multo sufflamine Consul;
Nocte quidem, sed luna videt, sed sidera testes
Intendunt oculos. Finitum tempus honoris
Quum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
Sumet et occursum nunquam trepidabit amici
Jam senis, ac virga prior annuet atque maniplos

Solvet et infundet jumentis hordea lassis.
Interea dum lanatas torvumque juvencum
More Numae caedit Jovis ante altaria, jurat
Solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
Sed quum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas,
Obvius assiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo
Currit, Idumaeae Syrophoenix incola portae,
Hospitis affectu dominum regemque salutat,
Et cum venali Cyane succincta lagena.
  Defensor culpae dicet mihi, "Fecimus et nos
Haec juvenes." Esto. Desisti nempe, nec ultra
Fovisti errorem. Breve sit, quod turpiter audes;
Quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba;
Indulge veniam pueris. Lateranus ad illos
Thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit
Maturus bello, Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
Amnibus et Rheno atque Istro. Praestare Neronem
Securum valet haec aetas. Mitte ostia, Caesar,
Mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina;
Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
Inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
Et resupinati cessantia tympana Galli.
Aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
Non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
Quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum?
Nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.
At vos, Trojugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
Turpia cerdoni Volesos Brutumque decebunt.
  Quid, si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
Utimur exemplis ut non pejora supersint?
Consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti

Sipario, clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli:
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
Judice me dignus vera cruce. Nec tamen ipsi
Ignoscas populo: populi frons durior hujus,
Qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
Planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas. Quanti sua funera vendant
Quid refert? Vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
Nec dubitant celsi Praetoris vendere ludis.
Finge tamen gladios inde, atque hinc pulpita pone:
Quid satius? Mortem sic quisquam exhorruit ut sit
Zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
Res haud mira tamen citharoedo Principe mimus
Nobilis. Haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? Et illud
Dedecus Urbis habes; nec mirmillonis in armis,
Nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina,
(Damnat enim tales habitus; et damnat et odit)
Nec galea faciem abscondit; movet ecce tridentem;
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequidquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum
Erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus arena.
Credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea quum se
Porrigat et longo jactetur spira galero.
Ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
Vulnere cum Graccho jussus pugnare secutor.
  Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni?
Cujus supplicio non debuit una parari
Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culeus unus.
Par Agamemnonidae crimen; sed causa facit rem
Dissimilem; quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
Patris erat caesi media inter pocula, sed nec

Electrae jugulo se polluit aut Spartani
Sanguine conjugii; nullis aconita propinquis
Miscuit, in scena nunquam cantavit Orestes;
Troica non scripsit. Quid enim Verginius armis
Debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba?
Quid Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
Haec opera atque hae sunt generosi Principis artes,
Gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
Prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
Majorum effigies habeant insignia vocis:
Ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
Syrma vel Antigones, tu personam Menalippes,
Et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.
Quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
Inveniet quisquam sublimius? Arma tamen vos
Nocturna et flammas domibus templisque parastis,
Ut Braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
Ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
Sed vigilat Consul vexillaque vestra coercet.
Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
Municipalis Eques, galeatum ponit ubique
Praesidium attonitis et in omni gente laborat.
Tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
Nominis et tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
Caedibus assiduis gladio. Sed Roma parentem,
Roma Patrem Patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro;
Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.
Hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum

Excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit Urbem;
Atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.
Plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
Nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
Omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
Sufficiunt dis infernis Terraeque parenti;
Pluris enim Decii quam quae servantur ab illis.
Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
Et fasces meruit, regum ultimus ille bonorum.
Prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
Exsulibus juvenes ipsius Consulis et quos
Magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
Quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
Imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit.
Occulta ad Patres produxit crimina servus
Matronis lugendus: at illos verbera justis
Afficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.
  Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
Quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
Et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo.
Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

SATIRA X.

OMNIBUS in terris quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dignoscere possunt
Vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
Erroris nebula. Quid enim ratione timemus
Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis ut te
Conatus non poeniteat votique peracti?
Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
Di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
Militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
Et sua mortifera est facundia; viribus ille
Confisus periit admirandusque lacertis.
Sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
Strangulat, et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census
Quanto delphinis balaena Britannica major.
Temporibus diris igitur jussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
Clausit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
Tota cohors: rarus venit in coenacula miles.
Pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri,
Nocte iter ingressus gladium contumque timebis
Et motae ad lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram:
Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
Prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
Divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto

Nostra sit arca foro. Sed nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus: tunc illa time, quum pocula sumes
Gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
Jamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter
Ridebat quoties de limine moverat unum
Protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius alter?
Sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni;
Mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit humor.
Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quanquam non essent urbibus illis
Praetexta et trabeae, fasces, lectica, tribunal.
Quid si vidisset Praetorem curribus altis
Exstantem, et medio sublimem in pulvere Circi
In tunica Jovis, et pictae Sarrana ferentem
Ex humeris aulaea togae, magnaeque coronae
Tantum orbem quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus et, sibi Consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
Da nunc et volucrem sceptro quae surgit eburno,
Illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
Agminis officia, et niveos ad fraena Quirites
Defossa in loculis quos sportula fecit amicos.
Tum quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes
Occursus hominum, cujus prudentia monstrat
Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
Vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
Ridebat curas nec non et gaudia vulgi,
Interdum et lacrimas, quum Fortunae ipse minaci
Mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
Ergo supervacua aut perniciosa petuntur,
Propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum.
Quosdam praecipitat subjecta potentia magnae

Invidiae; mergit longa atque insignis honorum
Pagina; descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur.
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Caedit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Jam stridunt ignes, jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus: deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellae.
Pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum
Cretatumque bovem: Sejanus ducitur unco
Spectandus: gaudent omnes. "Quae labra! quis illi
Vultus erat! nunquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
Hunc hominem; sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?"
"Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis." "Bene habet; nil plus interrogo." Sed quid
Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam ut semper, et odit
Damnatos. Idem populus, si Nurtia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum. Jam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
Vendimus, effudit curas. Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses. "Perituros audio multos."
"Nil dubium: magna est fornacula: pallidulus mi
Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
Quam timeo victus ne poenas exigat Ajax
Ut male defensus. Curramus praecipites et
Dum jacet in ripa calcemus Caesaris hostem.
Sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in jus
Cervice obstricta dominum trahat." Hi sermones

Tunc de Sejano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
Visne salutari sicut Sejanus? habere
Tantundem, atque illi summas donare curules,
Illum exercitibus praeponere? tutor haberi
Principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
Cum grege Chaldaeo? Vis certe pila, cohortes,
Egregios equites et castra domestica. Quidni
Haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quenquam
Posse volunt. Sed quae praeclara et prospera tantum
Ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?
Hujus qui trahitur praetextam sumere mavis,
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
Et de mensura jus dicere, vasa minora
Frangere pannosus vacuis Aedilis Ulubris?
Ergo quid optandum foret ignorasse fateris
Sejanum: nam qui nimios optabat honores
Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
Excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.
Quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit, et illum
Ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus,
Magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
Ad generum Cereris sine caede et vulnere pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.
  Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
Incipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
Quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam,
Quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
Eloquio sed uterque perit orator; utrumque
Largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec unquam

Sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
"O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam!"
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
Omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo
Quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
Volveris a prima quae proxima. Saevus et illum
Exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
Torrentem et pleni moderantem fraena theatri.
Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
Quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
A carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
Incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.
Bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropaeis
Lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
Et curtum temone jugum victaeque triremis
Aplustre et summo tristis captivus in arcu
Humanis majora bonis creduntur: ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque ac barbarus induperator
Erexit: causas discriminis atque laboris
Inde habuit. Tanto major famae sitis est quam
Virtutis. Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
Praemia si tollas? Patriam tamen obruit olim
Gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
Haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
Discutienda valent sterilis mala robora ficus:
Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.
Expende Hannibalem; quot libras in duce summo
Invenies? hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
Percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
Rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos.
Additur imperiis Hispania: Pyrenaeum
Transilit: opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque;

Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
Jam tenet Italiam; tamen ultra pergere tendit:
"Actum," inquit, "nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
Frangimus et media vexillum pono Suburra."
O qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
Quum Gaetula ducem portaret bellua luscum!
Exitus ergo quis est? O gloria! vincitur idem
Nempe et in exsilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
Mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
Donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
Finem animae quae res humanas miscuit olim
Non gladii, non saxa dabunt, nec tela; sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
Annulus. I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.
Unus Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis:
Aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho:
Quum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erit. Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula. Creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Graecia mendax
Audet in historia; constratum classibus isdem
Suppositumque rotis solidum mare; credimus altos
Defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
Prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
Ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
Barbarus, Aeolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum?
Mitius id sane quod non et stigmate dignum
Credidit. Huic quisquam vellet servire deorum!

Sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
Fluctibus, ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
Has toties optata exegit gloria poenas!
"Da spatium vitae, multos da, Juppiter, annos!"
Hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
Sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
Plena malis! Deformem et tetrum ante omnia vultum
Dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
Pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas,
Quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,
In vetula scalpit jam mater simia bucca.
Plurima sunt juvenum discrimina: pulcrior ille
Hoc, atque ille alio; multum hic robustior illo:
Una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra
Et jam leve caput madidique infantia nasi.
Frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi.
Usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
Ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.
Non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
Gaudia: nam coitus jam longa oblivio; vel si
Coneris, jacet exiguus cum ramice nervus,
Et quamvis tota palpetur nocte jacebit.
Anne aliquid sperare potest haec inguinis aegri
Canities? quid, quod merito suspecta libido est
Quae Venerem affectat sine viribus. Aspice partis
Nunc damnum alterius: nam quae cantante voluptas,
Sit licet eximius citharoedus sitve Seleucus,
Et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
Quid refert magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
Qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
Concentus? clamore opus est ut sentiat auris
Quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas.

Praeterea minimus gelido jam in corpore sanguis
Febre calet sola; circumsilit agmine facto
Morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
Promptius expediam quot amaverit Hippia moechos,
Quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
Quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus
Pupillos, quot longa viros exsorbeat uno
Maura die, quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus;
Percurram citius quot villas possideat nunc
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba sonabat.
Ille humero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
Perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet; hujus
Pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis.
Ipse ad conspectum coenae diducere rictum
Suetus hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis ad quem
Ore volat pleno mater jejuna. Sed omni
Membrorum damno major dementia, quae nec
Nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
Cum quo praeterita coenavit nocte, nec illos
Quos genuit, quos eduxit. Nam codice saevo
Heredes vetat esse suos; bona tota feruntur
Ad Phialen: tantum artificis valet halitus oris,
Quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis.
Ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
Funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
Conjugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
Haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
Semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
Perpetuo moerore et nigra veste senescant.
Rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
Exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
Felix nimirum, qui tot per secula mortem

Distulit atque suos jam dextra computat annos
Quique novum toties mustum bibit. Oro parumper
Attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
Fatorum et nimio de stamine, quum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem; quum quaerit ab omni,
Quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
Quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo.
Haec eadem Peleus, raptum quum luget Achillem,
Atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
Incolumi Troja Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis solemnibus, Hectore funus
Portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
Si foret exstinctus diverso tempore, quo non
Coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
Longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
Eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
Tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
Et ruit ante aram summi Jovis, ut vetulus bos,
Qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
Praebet ab ingrato jam fastiditus aratro.
Exitus ille utcunque hominis; sed torva canino
Latravit rictu quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
Festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
Et Croesum, quem vox justi facunda Solonis
Respicere ad longae jussit spatia ultima vitae.
Exsilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
Et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
Hinc causas habuere. Quid illo cive tulisset
Natura in terris, quid Roma beatius unquam,
Si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni

Bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
Quum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas: sed multae urbes et publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur Fortuna ipsius et Urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit. Hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit, ceciditque Cethegus
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.
Formam optat modico pueris, majore puellis
Murmure, quum Veneris fanum videt anxia mater,
Usque ad delicias votorum. "Cur tamen," inquit,
"Corripias? Pulchra gaudet Latona Diana."
Sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem
Ipsa habuit: cuperet Rutilae Virginia gibbum
Accipere atque suam Rutilae dare. Filius autem
Corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
Semper habet. Rara est adeo concordia formae
Atque pudicitiae. Sanctos licet horrida mores
Tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos,
Praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto
Sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
Larga manu: (quid enim puero conferre potest plus
Custode et cura natura potentior omni?)
Non licet esse viros, nam prodiga corruptoris
Improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes.
Tanta in muneribus fiducia! Nullus ephebum
Deformem saeva castravit in arce tyrannus;
Nec praetextatum rapuit Nero loripedem nec
Strumosum atque utero pariter gibboque tumentem.
I nunc et juvenis specie laetare tui, quem
Majora exspectant discrimina: fiet adulter
Publicus, et poenas metuet, quascunque maritis

Iratis debet; nec erit felicior astro
Martis, ut in laqueos nunquam incidat. Exigit autem
Interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori
Concessit. Necat hic ferro, secat ille cruentis
Verberibus, quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat.
Sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter
Matronae: mox quum dederit Servilia nummos,
Fiet et illius quam non amat; exuet omnem
Corporis ornatum. Quid enim ulla negaverit udis
Inguinibus, sive est haec Oppia sive Catulla?
Deterior totos habet illic femina mores.
Sed casto quid forma nocet? — Quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum? quid Bellerophonti?
Erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita: repulsa
Nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
Concussere ambae. Mulier saevissima tunc est
Quum stimulos odio pudor admovet. Elige quidnam
Suadendum esse putes cui nubere Caesaris uxor
Destinat. Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciae rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis: dudum sedet illa parato
Flameolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
Antiquo; veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
Haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas.
Non nisi legitime vult nubere. Quid placeat dic:
Ni parere velis pereundum erit ante lucernas:
Si scelus admittas dabitur mora parvula, dum res
Nota Urbi et populo contingat Principis aures.
Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus: interea tu
Obsequere imperio; sit tanti vita dierum

Paucorum. Quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
Praebenda est gladio pulcra haec et candida cervix.
  Nil ergo optabunt homines? Si consilium vis,
Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
Carior est illis homo quam sibi. Nos animorum
Impulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
Conjugium petimus partumque uxoris: at illis
Notum qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
Ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
Exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano:
Fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem,
Qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
Naturae, qui ferre queat quoscunque labores,
Nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil, et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
Et Venere et coenis et pluma Sardanapali.
Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare: semita certe
Tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia: nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

SATIRA XI.

ATTICUS eximie si coenat lautus habetur,
Si Rutilus demens. Quid enim majore cachinno
Excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius? Omnis
Convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum
De Rutilo. Nam dum valida ac juvenalia membra
Sufficiunt galeae dumque ardens sanguine, fertur
(Non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente Tribuno)
Scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
Multos porro vides quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
Creditor introitum solet exspectare macelli,
Et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
Egregius coenat meliusque miserrimus horum,
Et cito casurus jam perlucente ruina.
Interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt,
Nunquam animo pretiis obstantibus: interius si
Attendas, magis illa juvant quae pluris emuntur.
Ergo haud difficile est perituram arcessere summam
Lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
Et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
Fictile. Sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi.
Refert ergo quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
Luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
Sumit et a censu famam trahit. Illum ego jure
Despiciam qui scit quanto sublimior Atlas

Omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
Ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca
Sacculus. E caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν,
Figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
Conjugium quaeras vel sacri in parte Senatus
Esse velis, (nec enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes
Ancipitem;) seu tu magno discrimine causam
Protegere affectas, te consule, dic tibi quis sis,
Orator vehemens an Curtius et Matho buccae.
Noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
In summis minimisque; etiam quum piscis emetur,
Ne mullum cupias quum sit tibi gobio tantum
In loculis. Quis enim te deficiente crumena
Et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
Ac rebus mersis in ventrem, fenoris atque
Argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
Talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
Annulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
Non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
Luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.
Hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
Et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paullum
Nescio quid superest et pallet fenoris auctor,
Qui vertere solum Baias et ad Ostia currunt:
Cedere namque foro jam non est deterius quam
Esquilias a ferventi migrare Suburra.
Ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
Moestitia est, caruisse anno Circensibus uno.
Sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta: morantur
Pauci ridiculum fugientem ex Urbe Pudorem.
  Experiere hodie numquid pulcherrima dictu,

Persice, non praestem vita vel moribus et re,
Sed laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
Coram aliis dictem puero sed in aure placentas.
Nam quum sis conviva mihi promissus habebis
Evandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo
Hospes et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum,
Alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
Fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
De Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
Haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae,
Necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
Qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis; et montani
Asparagi, posito quos legit villica fuso.
Grandia praeterea tortoque calentia foeno
Ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus et servatae
Parte anni quales fuerant in vitibus uvae:
Signinum Syriumque pirum, de corbibus isdem
Aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis,
Nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam
Autumnum et crudi posuere pericula succi.
Haec olim nostri jam luxuriosa Senatus
Coena fuit. Curius parvo quae legerat horto
Ipse focis brevibus ponebat oluscula, quae nunc
Squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor,
Qui meminit calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.
Sicci terga suis, rara pendentia crate,
Moris erat quondam festis servare diebus
Et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum,
Accedente nova, si quam dabat hostia, carne.
Cognatorum aliquis titulo ter Consulis atque
Castrorum imperiis et Dictatoris honore
Functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat,

Erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.
Quum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem
Et Scauros et Fabricios, postremo severos
Censoris mores etiam collega timeret,
Nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendum,
Qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,
Clarum Trojugenis factura ac nobile fulcrum;
Sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
Vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
Ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.
Tales ergo cibi qualis domus atque supellex.
  Tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes,
Urbibus eversis, praedarum in parte reperta
Magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
Ut phaleris gauderet equus, caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere jussae
Imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
Ac nudam effigiem clipeo venientis et hasta
Pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
Argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.
Ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino;
Omnia tunc quibus invideas si lividulus sis.
Templorum quoque majestas praesentior et vox
Nocte fere media mediamque audita per Urbem,
Litore ab Oceano Gallis venientibus et dis
Officium vatis peragentibus. His monuit nos,
Hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat
Fictilis et nullo violatus Juppiter auro.
Illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
Tempora viderunt: hos lignum stabat in usus,
Annosam si forte nucem dejecerat Eurus.
At nunc divitibus coenandi nulla voluptas,

Nil rhombus, nil dama sapit, putere videntur
Unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
Grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
Et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
Et quos deposuit Nabathaeo bellua saltu
Jam nimios capitique graves. Hinc surgit orexis,
Hinc stomacho vires; nam pes argenteus illis
Annulus in digito quod ferreus. Ergo superbum
Convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparat et res
Despicit exiguas. Adeo nulla uncia nobis
Est eboris, nec tessellae, nec calculus ex hac
Materia: quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
Ossea; non tamen his ulla unquam obsonia fiunt
Rancidula, aut ideo pejor gallina secatur.
Sed nec structor erit cui cedere debeat omnis
Pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
Sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
Et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens
Et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro
Caeditur, et tota sonat ulmea coena Suburra.
Nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae
Novit avis noster, tirunculus ac rudis omni
Tempore et exiguae furtis imbutus ofellae.
Plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos
Porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus,
Non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
Quisquam erit et magno. Quum posces, posce Latine.
Idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli
Atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.
Pastoris duri est hic filius, ille bubulci:
Suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem

Et casulam et notos tristis desiderat haedos,
Ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris,
Quales esse decet quos ardens purpura vestit:
Nec pugillares defert in balnea raucus
Testiculos, nec vellendas jam praebuit alas,
Crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina gutto.
Hic tibi vina dabit diffusa in montibus illis
A quibus ipse venit, quorum sub vertice lusit:
Namque una atque eadem est vini patria atque ministri.
Forsitan exspectes ut Gaditana canoro
Incipiat prurire choro plausuque probatae
Ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae:
(Spectant hoc nuptae juxta recubante marito
Quod pudeat narrasse aliquem praesentibus ipsis)
Irritamentum Veneris languentis et acres
Divitis urticae. Major tamen ista voluptas
Alterius sexus: magis ille extenditur, et mox
Auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur.
Non capit has nugas humilis domus: audiat ille
Testarum crepitus cum verbis nudum olido stans
Fornice mancipium quibus abstinet, ille fruatur
Vocibus obscoenis omnique libidinis arte
Qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem.
Namque ibi fortunae veniam damus; alea turpis,
Turpe et adulterium mediocribus. Haec eadem illi
Omnia quum faciunt hilares nitidique vocantur.
Nostra dabunt alios hodie convivia ludos:
Conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis
Altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
Quid refert tales versus qua voce legantur?
  Sed nunc dilatis averte negotia curis
Et gratam requiem dona tibi, quando licebit

Per totum cessare diem: non fenoris ulla
Mentio, nec prima si luce egressa reverti
Nocte solet tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor,
Humida suspectis referens multicia rugis
Vexatasque comas et vultum auremque calentem.
Protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen;
Pone demum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
Aut perit; ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.
Interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae,
Idaeum sollemne, colunt, similisque triumpho
Praeda caballorum Praetor sedet ac, mihi pace
Immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
Totam hodie Romam Circus capit et fragor aurem
Percutit eventum viridis quo colligo panni:
Nam si deficeret moestam attonitamque videres
Hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
Consulibus. Spectent juvenes, quos clamor et audax
Sponsio, quos cultae decet assedisse puellae:
Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
Effugiatque togam. Jam nunc in balnea salva
Fronte licet vadas, quanquam solida hora supersit
Ad sextam. Facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
Continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
Magna. Voluptates commendat rarior usus.

SATIRA XII.

NATALI, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
Qua festus promissa deis animalia caespes
Exspectat. Niveam Reginae ducimus agnam;
Par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura:
Sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem
Tarpeio servata Jovi frontemque coruscat;
Quippe ferox vitulus, templis maturus et arae
Spargendusque mero, quem jam pudet ubera matris
Ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.
Si res ampla domi similisque affectibus esset,
Pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus et ipsa
Mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
Laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
Iret, et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,
Ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
Nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.
Nam praeter pelagi casus et fulguris ictus
Evasit. Densae caelum abscondere tenebrae
Nube una subitusque antennas impulit ignis,
Quum se quisque illo percussum crederet et mox
Attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret
Naufragium velis ardentibus. Omnia fiunt
Talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit
Tempestas. Genus ecce aliud discriminis; audi

Et miserere iterum ; quanquam sint cetera sortis
Ejusdem ; pars dira quidem sed cognita multis,
Et quam votiva testantur fana tabella
Plurima. Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?
Accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo.
Quum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus et jam
Alternum puppis latus evertentibus undis
Arboris incertae nullam prudentia cani
Rectoris conferret opem, decidere jactu
Coepit cum ventis, imitatus castora, qui se
Eunuchum ipse facit cupiens evadere damno
Testiculi; adeo medicatum intelligit inguen.
"Fundite quae mea sunt," dicebat, "cuncta," Catullus,
Praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
Purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,
Atque alias quarum generosi graminis ipsum
Infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons
Viribus occultis et Baeticus adjuvat aer.
Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem
Et dignum sitiente Pholo vel conjuge Fusci;
Adde et bascaudas et mille escalia, multum
Caelati biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.
Sed quis nunc alius qua mundi parte, quis audet
Argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem?
Non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,
Sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt.
Jactatur rerum utilium pars maxima; sed nec
Damna levant. Tunc adversis urgentibus illuc
Decidit ut malum ferro summitteret; hac re
Explicat angustum; discriminis ultima quando
Praesidia afferimus navem factura minorem.

I nunc et ventis animam committe dolato
Confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
Quatuor aut septem, si sit latissima taeda.
Mox cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagenae
Aspice sumendas in tempestate secures.
Sed postquam jacuit planum mare, tempora postquam
Prospera vectoris fatumque valentius Euro
Et pelago, postquam Parcae meliora benigna
Pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
Lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura
Ventus adest, inopi miserabilis arte cucurrit
Vestibus extentis et, quod superaverat unum,
Velo prorà suo. Jam deficientibus Austris
Spes vitae cum sole redit: tum gratus Iulo,
Atque novercali sedes praelata Lavino,
Conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
Scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus mirabile sumen,
Et nunquam visis triginta clara mamillis.
Tandem intrat positas inclusa per aequora moles
Tyrrhenamque Pharon porrectaque brachia rursum,
Quae pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt
Italiam — non sic igitur mirabere portus
Quos natura dedit — sed trunca puppe magister
Interiora petit Baianae pervia cymbae
Tuti stagna sinus, gaudent ubi vertice raso
Garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.
Ite igitur, pueri, linguis animisque faventes,
Sertaque delubris et farra imponite cultris
Ac molles ornate focos glebamque virentem.
Jam sequar et, sacro quod praestat rite peracto,
Inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
Accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.

Hic nostrum placabo Jovem Laribusque paternis
Tura dabo, atque omnes violae jactabo colores.
Cuncta nitent; longos erexit janua ramos
Et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.
  Nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine; Catullus,
Pro cujus reditu tot pono altaria, parvos
Tres habet heredes. Libet exspectare quis aegram
Et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico
Tam sterili. Verum haec nimia est impensa; coturnix
Nulla unquam pro patre cadet. Sentire calorem
Si coepit locuples Gallita et Paccius orbi,
Legitime fixis vestitur tota tabellis
Porticus; exsistunt qui promittunt hecatomben,
Quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
Nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
Bellua concipitur, sed furva gente petita
Arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro,
Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum
Privato; siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
Hannibali et nostris ducibus regique Molosso
Horum majores ac dorso ferre cohortes,
Partem aliquam belli et euntem in proelia turrim.
Nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras
Et cadat ante Lares Gallitae victima, sola
Tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.
Alter enim, si concedas mactare, vovebit
De grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque
Corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
Imponet vittas, et si qua est nubilis illi
Iphigenia domi dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
Non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.

Laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
Mille rates: nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
Delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassae,
Post meritum sane mirandum, atque omnia soli
Forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit. Ille superbus
Incedet victis rivalibus. Ergo vides quam
Grande operae pretium faciat jugulata Mycenis.
Vivat Pacuvius quaeso vel Nestora totum;
Possideat quantum rapuit Nero; montibus aurum
Exaequet; nec amet quenquam, nec ametur ab ullo.

SATIRA XIII.

EXEMPLO quodcunque malo committitur ipsi
Displicet auctori. Prima est haec ultio, quod se
Judice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
Gratia fallaci Praetoris vicerit urna.
Quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
De scelere et fidei violatae crimine? Sed nec
Tam tenuis census tibi contigit ut mediocris
Jacturae te mergat onus, nec rara videmus
Quae pateris. Casus multis hic cognitus ac jam
Tritus et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
Ponamus nimios gemitus; flagrantior aequo
Non debet dolor esse viri nec vulnere major.
Tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
Particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens
Visceribus sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
Depositum? stupet haec qui jam post terga reliquit
Sexaginta annos, Fonteio Consule natus?
An nihil in melius tot rerum proficis usu?
Magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
Victrix fortunae sapientia: ducimus autem
Hos quoque felices qui ferre incommoda vitae
Nec jactare jugum vita didicere magistra.
Quae tam festa dies ut cesset prodere furem,
Perfidiam, fraudes, atque omni ex crimine lucrum

Quaesitum, et partos gladio vel pyxide nummos?
Rari quippe boni: numerus vix est totidem quot
Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.
Nona aetas agitur pejoraque secula ferri
Temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
Nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo.
Nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
Quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
Sportula. Dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis
Quas habeat Veneres aliena pecunia? nescis
Quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, quum
Exigis a quoquam ne pejeret, et putet ullis
Esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti?
Quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
Sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens, tunc quum virguncula Juno
Et privatus adhuc Idaeis Juppiter antris,
Nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum,
Nec puer Iliacus, formosa nec Herculis uxor
Ad cyathos, et jam siccato nectare tergens
Brachia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna.
Prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum
Talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
Numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere. Nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi
Imperium, aut Sicula torvus cum conjuge Pluton;
Nec rota, nec Furiae, nec saxum aut vulturis atri
Poena; sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
Improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo.
Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum,
Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat et si
Barbato cuicunque puer, licet ipse videret

Plura domi fraga et majores glandis acervos.
Tam venerabile erat praecedere quatuor annis,
Primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae!
Nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
Prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
Quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
Hoc monstrum puero aut miranti sub aratro
Piscibus inventis et fetae comparo mulae,
Sollicitus tanquam lapides effuderit imber
Examenque apium longa consederit uva
Culmine delubri, tanquam in mare fluxerit amnis
Gurgitibus miris et lactis vertice torrens.
  Intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude
Sacrilega? Quid si bis centum perdidit alter
Hoc arcana modo? majorem tertius illa
Summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
Tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
Si mortalis idem nemo sciat! Aspice quanta
Voce neget, quae sit ficti constantia vultus.
Per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat
Et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,
Per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae,
Perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem;
Addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
Quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.
Si vero et pater est, "Comedam," inquit, "flebile nati
Sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto."
  Sunt in Fortunae qui casibus omnia ponunt
Et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri,
Natura volvente vices et lucis et anni,

Atque ideo intrepidi quaecunque altaria tangunt.
Est alius metuens ne crimen poena sequatur;
Hic putat esse deos et pejerat, atque ita secum:
"Decernat quodcunque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
Dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos.
Et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus
Sunt tanti. Pauper locupletem optare podagram
Nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec
Archigene. Quid enim velocis gloria plantae
Praestat et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?
Ut sit magna tamen certe lenta ira deorum est.
Si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes
Quando ad me venient? sed et exorabile numen
Fortasse experiar; solet his ignoscere. Multi
Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema."
Sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
Confirmant. Tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem
Praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.
Nam quum magna malae superest audacia causae,
Creditur a multis fiducia. Mimum agit ille,
Urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli.
Tu miser exclamas ut Stentora vincere possis,
Vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus: "Audis,
Juppiter, haec nec labra moves, quum mittere vocem
Debueras vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur
In carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta
Ponimus et sectum vituli jecur albaque porci
Omenta? Ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
Effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli."

Accipe quae contra valeat solatia ferre
Et qui nec Cynicos nec Stoica dogmata legit
A Cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
Suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
Curentur dubii medicis majoribus aegri;
Tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi.
Si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
Ostendis taceo; nec pugnis caedere pectus
Te veto, nec plana faciem contundere palma,
Quandoquidem accepto claudenda est janua damno,
Et majore domus gemitu, majore tumultu
Planguntur nummi quam funera. Nemo dolorem
Fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
Contentus, vexare oculos humore coacto.
Ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
Sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querela,
Si decies lectis diversa parte tabellis
Vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
Arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
Sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis,
Te nunc, delicias, extra communia censes
Ponendum? Qui tu gallinae filius albae,
Nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?
Rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
Si flectas oculos majora ad crimina. Confer
Conductum latronem, incendia sulfure coepta
Atque dolo, primos quum janua colligit ignes:
Confer et hos veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
Pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
Dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
Haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui

Radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, qui bracteolam de Castore ducat.
An dubitet solitus totum conflare Tonantem?
Confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni
Et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo
Clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
Haec quota pars scelerum quae custos Gallicus Urbis
Usque a Lucifero donec lux occidat audit?
Humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
Sufficit una domus. Paucos consume dies, et
Dicere te miserum postquam illinc veneris aude.
Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? aut quis
In Meroe crasso majorem infante mamillam?
Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
Caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
Nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
Ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram
Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis;
Mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis
Unguibus a saeva fertur grue. Si videas hoc
Gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare: sed illic,
Quanquam eadem assidue spectentur proelia, ridet
Nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.
"Nullane perjuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
Poena erit?" Abreptum crede hunc graviore catena
Protinus et nostro (quid plus velit ira?) necari
Arbitrio; manet illa tamen jactura, nec unquam
Depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco
Invidiosa dabit minimus solatia sanguis.
"At vindicta bonum vita jucundius ipsa."
Nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis

Interdum aut levibus videas flagrantia causis.
Quantulacunque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae.
Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis
Ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,
Qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae
Accusatori nollet dare. Plurima felix
Paullatim vitia atque errores exuit omnes,
Prima docet rectum Sapientia; quippe minuti
Semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Ultio; continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet quam femina. Cur tamen hos tu
Evasisse putes quos diri conscia facti
Mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit,
Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
Poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis,
Quas et Caedicius gravis invenit aut Rhadamanthus,
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depositum retinere et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando: quaerebat enim quae numinis esset
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
Reddidit ergo metu non moribus; et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit
Exstinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis.
Has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.
Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum
Facti crimen habet. Cedo si conata peregit?
Perpetua anxietas nec mensae tempore cessat,
Faucibus ut morbo siccis, interque molares

Difficili crescente cibo: sed vina misellus
Exspuit; Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
Displicet; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
Cogitur in frontem velut acri ducta Falerno.
Nocte brevèm si forte indulsit cura soporem
Et toto versata toro jam membra quiescunt,
Continuo templum et violati numinis aras
Et, quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urget,
Te videt in somnis; tua sacra et major imago
Humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.
Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
Quum tonat, exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli;
Non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie sed
Iratus cadat in terras et judicet ignis.
Illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur
Proxima tempestas, velut hoc dilata sereno.
Praeterea lateris vigili cum febre dolorem
Si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum
Infesto credunt a numine; saxa deorum
Haec et tela putant. Pecudem spondere sacello
Balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli
Non audent; quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris
Concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita?
Mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum:
Quum scelus admittunt superest constantia; quid fas
Atque nefas tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
Criminibus. Tamen ad mores natura recurrit
Damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia: nam quis
Peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
Ejectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
Quisnam hominum est quem tu contentum videris uno

Flagitio? Dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
Perfidus, et nigri patietur carceris uncum,
Aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
Exsulibus magnis. Poena gaudebis amara
Nominis invisi, tandemque fatebere laetus
Nec surdum nec Tiresiam quenquam esse deorum.

SATIRA XIV.

PLURIMA sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
Et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
Quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
Si damnosa senem juvat alea, ludit et heres
Bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.
Nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
Concedet juvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
Boletum condire et eodem jure natantes
Mergere ficedulas didicit nebulone parente
Et cana monstrante gula. Quum septimus annus
Transierit puero, nondum omni dente renato,
Barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
Hinc totidem, cupiet lauto coenare paratu
Semper et a magna non degenerare culina.
Mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
Praecipit, atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
Materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
An saevire docet Rutilus, qui gaudet acerbo
Plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
Comparat, Antiphates trepidi Laris ac Polyphemus,
Tum felix quoties aliquis tortore vocato
Uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro?
Quid suadet juveni laetus stridore catenae,
Quem mire afficiunt inscripta ergastula, carcer

Rusticus? Exspectas ut non sit adultera Largae
Filia, quae nunquam maternos dicere moechos
Tam cito nec tanto poterit contexere cursu
Ut non ter decies respiret? Conscia matri
Virgo fuit; ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
Implet, et ad moechum dat eisdem ferre cinaedis.
Sic natura jubet: velocius et citius nos
Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
Quum subeunt animos auctoribus. Unus et alter
Forsitan haec spernant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;
Sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt,
Et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
Abstineas igitur damnandis; hujus enim vel
Una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur
Ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
Quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe;
Sed nec Brutus erit Bruti nec avunculus usquam.
Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat
Intra quae puer est. Procul hinc, procul inde puellae
Lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
Maxima debetur puero reverentia. Si quid
Turpe paras, ne tu pueri contempseris annos,
Sed peccaturo obsistat tibi filius infans.
Nam si quid dignum Censoris fecerit ira
Quandoque et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
Nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius et qui
Omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,
Corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
Clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis.
Unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis

Quum facias pejora senex, vacuumque cerebro
Jam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat?
Hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum.
"Verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas,
Arida cum tota descendat aranea tela;
Hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter,"
Vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis.
Ergo miser trepidas ne stercore foeda canino
Atria displiceant oculis venientis amici,
Nec perfusa luto sit porticus, (et tamen uno
Semodio scobis haec emendat servulus unus,)
Illud non agitas ut sanctam filius omni
Aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem.
Gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti
Si facis ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris,
Utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.
Plurimum enim intererit quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu
Moribus instituas. Serpente ciconia pullos
Nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta;
Illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
Vultur jumento et canibus crucibusque relictis
Ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris affert.
Hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
Pascentis, propria quum jam facit arbore nidos.
Sed leporem aut capream famulae Jovis et generosae
In saltu venantur aves; hinc praeda cubili
Ponitur: inde autem, quum se matura levabit
Progenies stimulante fame, festinat ad illam
Quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo.
Aedificator erat Cetronius, et modo curvo
Litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
Nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat

Culmina villarum, Graecis longeque petitis
Marmoribus vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,
Ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.
Dum sic ergo habitat Cetronius, imminuit rem,
Fregit opes, nec parva tamen mensura relictae
Partis erat; totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
Dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.
Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
Nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt.
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges
Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses;
Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
Ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.
Sponte tamen juvenes imitantur cetera, solam
Inviti quoque avaritiam exercere jubentur.
Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
Quum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum.
Nec dubie tanquam frugi laudatur avarus,
Tanquam parcus homo et rerum tutela suarum
Certa magis quam si fortunas servet easdem
Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. Adde quod hunc de
Quo loquor egregium populus putat acquirendi
Artificem: quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris:
Sed crescunt quocunque modo, majoraque fiunt
Incude assidua semperque ardente camino.
Et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros,
Qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati

Pauperis esse putat; juvenes hortatur ut illam
Ire viam pergant et eidem incumbere sectae.
Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa; his protinus illos
Imbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes;
Mox acquirendi docet insatiabile votum.
Servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo
Ipse quoque esuriens; neque enim omnia sustinet unquam
Mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
Hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
Septembri, nec non differre in tempora coenae
Alterius conchem aestivam cum parte lacerti
Signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro,
Filaque sectivi numerata includere porri.
Invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
Sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,
Quum furor haud dubius, quum sit manifesta phrenesis,
Ut locuples moriaris egentis vivere fato?
Interea pleno quum turget sacculus ore,
Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit;
Et minus hanc optat qui non habet. Ergo paratur
Altera villa tibi quum rus non sufficit unum,
Et proferre libet fines, majorque videtur
Et melior vicina seges: mercaris et hanc et
Arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.
Quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo,
Nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo
Jumenta ad virides hujus mittuntur aristas;
Nec prius inde domum quam tota novalia saevos
In ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
Dicere vix possis quam multi talia plorent,
Et quot venales injuria fecerit agros.
Sed qui sermones! quam foedae buccina famae!

"Quid nocet haec?" inquit. "Tunicam mihi malo lupini
Quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
Exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem."
Scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis
Et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
Longa tibi post haec fato meliore dabuntur,
Si tantum culti solus possederis agri
Quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arabat.
Mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
Proelia vel Pyrrhum immanem gladiosque Molossos
Tandem pro multis vix jugera bina dabantur
Vulneribus. Merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
Nullis visa unquam meritis minor aut ingratae
Curta fides patriae. Saturabat glebula talis
Patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta jacebat
Uxor, et infantes ludebant quatuor, unus
Vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum
A scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera coena
Amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.
Nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
Inde fere scelerum causae; nec plura venena
Miscuit aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
Humanae mentis vitium quam saeva cupido
Immodici census; nam dives qui fieri vult,
Et cito vult fieri. Sed quae reverentia legum,
Quis metus aut pudor est unquam properantis avari?
"Vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,
O pueri," Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex; "panem quaeramus aratro
Qui satis est mensis: laudant hoc numina ruris
Quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
Contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.

Nil vetitum fecisse volet quem non pudet alto
Per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet Euros
Pellibus inversis. Peregrina ignotaque nobis
Ad scelus atque nefas, quaecunque est, purpura ducit."
Haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus: at nunc
Post finem autumni media de nocte supinum
Clamosus juvenem pater excitat: "Accipe ceras,
Scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
Majorum leges aut vitem posce libello.
Sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
Annotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas.
Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
Afferat: aut longos castrorum ferre labores
Si piget et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
Cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis
Pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
Ullius subeant ablegandae Tiberim ultra,
Neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
Unguenta et corium. Lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet. Illa tuo sententia semper in ore
Versetur dis atque ipso Jove digna poetae:
Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere."
Hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae;
Hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae.
Talibus instantem monitis quemcunque parentem
Sic possem affari: Dic, o vanissime, quis te
Festinare jubet? meliorem praesto magistro
Discipulum. Securus abi, vinceris, ut Ajax
Praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.
Parcendum est teneris; nondum implevere medullas
Maturae mala nequitiae. Quum pectere barbam

Coeperit et longi mucronem admittere cultri,
Falsus erit testis, vendet perjuria summa
Exigua, Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.
Elatam jam crede nurum, si limina vestra
Mortifera cum dote subit. Quibus illa premetur
Per somnum digitis! nam quae terraque marique
Acquirenda putas brevior via conferet illi.
Nullus enim magni sceleris labor. "Haec ego nunquam
Mandavi," dices olim, "nec talia suasi."
Mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te.
Nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem
Et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
Et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare,
Dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas
Curriculo; quem si revoces subsistere nescit
Et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.
Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere quantum
Permittas: adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
Quum dicis juveni stultum qui donet amico,
Qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui,
Et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
Crimine divitias acquirere, quarum amor in te
Quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
Dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus,
In quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
Cum clipeis nascuntur et horrida bella capessunt
Continuo, tanquam et tubicen surrexerit una:—
Ergo ignem cujus scintillas ipse dedisti
Flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis.
Nec tibi parcetur misero, trepidumque magistrum
In cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
Nota mathematicis genesis tua: sed grave tardas

Exspectare colus. Morieris stamine nondum
Abrupto. Jam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
Jam torquet juvenem longa et cervina senectus.
Ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithridates
Composuit, si vis aliam decerpere ficum
Atque alias tractare rosas. Medicamen habendum est
Sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.
  Monstro voluptatem egregiam cui nulla theatra,
Nulla aequare queas Praetoris pulpita lauti,
Si spectes quanto capitis discrimine constent
Incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
Fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi,
Ex quo Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit et res
Non potuit servare suas. Ergo omnia Florae
Et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas;
Tanto majores humana negotia ludi.
An magis oblectant animum jactata petauro
Corpora quique solet rectum descendere funem,
Quam tu Corycia semper qui puppe moraris
Atque habitas, Coro semper tollendus et Austro,
Perditus ac vilis sacci mercator olentis;
Qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
Passum et municipes Jovis advexisse lagenas?
Hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
Victum illa mercede parat brumamque famemque
Illa reste cavet; tu propter mille talenta
Et centum villas temerarius. Aspice portus
Et plenum magnis trabibus mare; plus hominum est jam
In pelago; veniet classis quocunque vocarit
Spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum
Aequora transiliet, sed longe Calpe relicta
Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.

Grande operae pretium est ut tenso folle reverti
Inde domum possis, tumidaque superbus aluta
Oceani monstra et juvenes vidisse marinos.
Non unus mentes agitat furor. Ille sororis
In manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
Hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit
Aut Ithacum. Parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
Curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet
Ad summum latus et tabula distinguitur unda,
Quum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis hujus
Concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
Occurrunt nubes et fulgura; "Solvite funem,"
Frumenti dominus clamat piperisve coempti;
"Nil color hic caeli, nil fascia nigra minatur;
Aestivum tonat." Infelix hac forsitan ipsa
Nocte cadet fractis trabibus, fluctuque premetur
Obrutus et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
Sed cujus votis modo non suffecerat aurum
Quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus arena,
Frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni
Exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem
Dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur.
Tantis parta malis cura majore metuque
Servantur. Misera est magni custodia census.
Dispositis praedives hamis vigilare cohortem
Servorum noctu Licinus jubet, attonitus pro
Electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
Atque ebore et lata testudine. Dolia nudi
Non ardent Cynici: si fregeris, altera fiet
Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
Sensit Alexander, testa quum vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic qui

Nil cuperet quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,
Passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.
Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia: nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam. Mensura tamen quae
Sufficiat census si quis me consulat edam:
In quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,
Quantum Socratici ceperunt ante penates.
Nunquam aliud Natura aliud Sapientia dicit.
Acribus exemplis videor te claudere: misce
Ergo aliquid nostris de moribus; effice summam
Bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
Haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum,
Sume duos Equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
Si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra,
Nec Croesi fortuna unquam, nec Persica regna
Sufficient animo, nec divitiae Narcissi,
Indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cujus
Paruit imperiis uxorem occidere jussus.

SATIRA XV.

QUIS nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Aegyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci
Dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
Numina! Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
Mensa, nefas illic fetum jugulare capellae;
Carnibus humanis vesci licet. Attonito quum
Tale super coenam facinus narraret Ulixes
Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam
Moverat ut mendax aretalogus. "In mare nemo
Hunc abicit, saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,
Fingentem immanes Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas?
Nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyanea, plenos et tempestatibus utres
Crediderim, aut tenui percussum verbere Circes
Et cum remigibus grunnisse Elpenora porcis.
Tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit?"
Sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui

De Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna;
Solus enim hoc Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.
Nos miranda quidem sed nuper Consule Junio
Gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
Nos vulgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis.
Nam scelus, a Pyrrha quanquam omnia syrmata volvas,
Nullus apud tragicos populus facit. Accipe nostro
Dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.
Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credat habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit. Sed tempore festo
Alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
Visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
Laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia coenae
Sentirent, positis ad templa et compita mensis
Pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce jacentem
Septimus interdum sol invenit. Horrida sane
Aegyptus; sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
Barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
Adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
Blaesis atque mero titubantibus. Inde virorum
Saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacunque
Unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae;
Hinc jejunum odium. Sed jurgia prima sonare
Incipiunt animis ardentibus; haec tuba rixae.
Dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli
Saevit nuda manus: paucae sine vulnere malae;
Vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
Integer. Aspiceres jam cuncta per agmina vultus

Dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
Ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
Ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et pueriles
Exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent:
Et sane quo tot rixantis millia turbae
Si vivunt omnes? Ergo acrior impetus, et jam
Saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
Tela; nec hunc lapidem, quales et Turnus et Ajax,
Vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
Illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.
Nam genus hoc vivo jam decrescebat Homero;
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos:
Ergo deus, quicunque aspexit, ridet et odit.
A diverticulo repetatur fabula. Postquam
Subsidiis aucti pars altera promere ferrum
Audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis;
Terga fuga celeri praestantibus omnibus, instant
Qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
Labitur hinc quidam nimia formidine cursum
Praecipitans capiturque: ast illum in plurima sectum
Frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
Sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit
Victrix turba; nec ardenti decoxit aeno
Aut verubus; longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
Exspectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
Hic gaudere libet quod non violaverit ignem,
Quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus
Donavit terris. Elemento gratulor et te
Exsultare reor. Sed qui mordere cadaver
Sustinuit nil unquam hac carne libentius edit.

Nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites an
Prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem
Qui stetit absumpto jam toto corpore, ductis
Per terram digitis, aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
Produxere animas; sed res diversa, sed illic
Fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
Extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas.
Hujus enim quod nunc agitur miserabile debet
Exemplum esse cibi; sicut modo dicta mihi gens
Post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
Cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
Pallorem ac maciem et tenues miserantibus artus,
Membra aliena fame lacerabant esse parati
Et sua. Quisnam hominum veniam dare, quisve deorum
Viribus abnuerit dira atque immania passis,
Et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes
Quorum corporibus vescebantur? Melius nos
Zenonis praecepta monent; nec enim omnia, quaedam
Pro vita facienda putat. Sed Cantaber unde
Stoicus, antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.
Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.
Nobilis ille tamen populus quem diximus, et par
Virtute atque fide sed major clade Saguntus
Tale quid excusat. Maeotide saevior ara
Aegyptus; quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
Inventrix homines (ut jam quae carmina tradunt
Digna fide credas) tantum immolat, ulterius nil
Aut gravius cultro timet hostia. Quis modo casus
Impulit hos? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo

Arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
Audere? Anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca
Invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?
Qua nec terribiles Cimbri, nec Britones unquam,
Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi,
Hac saevit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus,
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis
Et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.
Nec poenam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
Supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt
Et similes ira atque fames. Mollissima corda
Humano generi dare se natura fatetur
Quae lacrimas dedit: haec nostri pars optima sensus.
Plorare ergo jubet casum lugentis amici,
Squaloremque rei, pupillum ad jura vocantem
Circumscriptorem, cujus manantia fletu
Ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
Naturae imperio gemimus, quum funus adultae
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans
Et minor igne rogi. Quis enim bonus et face dignus
Arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
Ulla aliena sibi credat mala? Separat hoc nos
A grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
Sortiti ingenium, divinorumque capaces,
Atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti,
Sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce,
Cujus egent prona et terram spectantia. Mundi
Principio indulsit communis conditor illis
Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
Affectus petere auxilium et praestare juberet,
Dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
De nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,

Aedificare domos, Laribus conjungere nostris
Tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos
Ut collata daret fiducia, protegere armis
Lapsum aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
Communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
Turribus atque una portarum clave teneri.
Sed jam serpentum major concordia: parcit
Cognatis maculis similis fera. Quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Exspiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam; saevis inter se convenit ursis.
Ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
Produxisse parum est, quum rastra et sarcula tantum
Assueti coquere et marris ac vomere lassi
Nescirint primi gladios extendere fabri.
Aspicimus populos quorum non sufficit irae
Occidisse aliquem, sed pectora, brachia, vultum
Crediderint genus esse cibi. Quid diceret ergo,
Vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret
Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
Tanquam homine et ventri indulsit non omne legumen?

SATIRA XVI.

QUIS numerare queat felicis praemia, Galle,
Militiae? Quod si subeuntur prospera castra,
Me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo
Sidere. Plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
Quam si nos Veneris commendet epistola Marti
Et Samia genitrix quae delectatur arena.
Commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
Haud minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
Audeat; immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet nec
Audeat excussos Praetori ostendere dentes,
Et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam,
Atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.
Bardaicus judex datur haec punire volenti
Calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae,
Legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
Servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
Et procul a signis. Justissima Centurionum
Cognitio est igitur de milite; nec mihi deerit
Ultio si justae defertur causa querelae.
Tota cohors tamen est inimica, omnesque manipli
Consensu magno efficiunt curabilis ut sit
Vindicta gravior quam injuria. Dignum erit ergo
Declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,

Quum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
Millia clavorum. Quis tam procul absit ab Urbe
Praeterea? quis tam Pylades molem aggeris ultra
Ut veniat? Lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
Excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos,
"Da testem," judex quum dixerit. Audeat ille
Nescio quis pugnos qui vidit dicere, "Vidi,"
Et credam dignum barba dignumque capillis
Majorum. Citius falsum producere testem
Contra paganum possis quam vera loquentem
Contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.

Praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
Sacramentorum. Convallem ruris aviti
Improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit,
Et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum
Quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo;
Debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
Vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni;
Exspectandus erit qui lites inchoet annus
Totius populi. Sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
Taedia, mille morae; toties subsellia tantum
Sternuntur; tum, facundo ponente lacernas
Caedicio et Fusco jam micturiente, parati
Digredimur lentaque fori pugnamus arena.
Ast illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit
Quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,
Nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.

Solis praeterea testandi militibus jus
Vivo patre datur: nam quae sunt parta labore
Militiae placuit non esse in corpore census,
Omne tenet cujus regimen pater. Ergo Coranum
Signorum comitem castrorumque aera merentem

Quamvis jam tremulus captat pater. Hunc labor aequus
Provehit et pulcro reddit sua dona labori.
Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur
Ut qui fortis erit sit felicissimus idem,
Ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes —

NOTES.

REFERENCES TO GRAMMARS.

A. . . . . ALLEN AND GREENOUGH'S.
A. & S. . ANDREWS AND STODDARD'S.
B. . . . . BULLIONS AND MORRIS'S.
H. . . . . HARKNESS'S.
M. . . . . MADVIG'S (Thacher's edition).
Z. . . . . ZUMPT'S (Anthon's edition).

The references to "Merivale's History" are to the American edition.

NOTES.

SATIRE I.

THIS satire must have been published after A.D. 100 (see note on verse 47). Whether it was written first or not, it serves very well as an introduction to the volume. The 'libellus' of which the author speaks (verse 86) may be this poem or the whole collection.

ARGUMENT.—Am I always to listen, and never to pay back in kind? I, too, have been to school; if paper must be wasted, why should not I write (1–18)? How can I restrain myself when I think of the men and the times? I have no choice; I must write satire. How, in view of the sins of to-day, can I take up the hackneyed tales of the old poets? In the very streets one sees his material. Honesty is gone; crimes alone help men. I must write as I can (19–80). All the passions of men are my motley subject. When was there so much gaming as there is to-day, such luxury, such base cringing for a paltry gain? Why, even men of rank seek the dole and press their claim in every way (81–126). So, every day, the sportula comes first, then the court; then the hungry clients go away disappointed, and the rich man sits down to his feast. But such gluttony brings its own speedy punishment (127–146). You tell me I had best be careful how I speak, or I may meet the Christians' fate; that it is safer to write of those who are dead and gone. Well, then, I must try what I can do with those who are in their tombs (147–171).

1. *Semper ego auditor tantum?*] In the time of Augustus it had become common for all sorts of writers, but particularly poets, to recite their productions in public places, baths, colonnades, and so forth; or to get their friends and acquaintances together to hear them in private houses or rooms hired for the purpose. The practice was adopted by literary men of character as well as the inferior sort; the example having been first set, as is said, by Asinius Pollio, the friend and patron of Horace and others. 'Tantum' modifies 'auditor.' A. 47, 3, *c*; H. 583, 1; B. 997; M. 301, *c*, obs. 2. 'Nunquamne reponam' means 'Am I never to pay back?' The verb is the present subjunctive. A. 57, 6; H. 486, II.; B. 1180.

2. *Theseide*] The story of Theseus furnished subjects for epic poems and tragedies, and this may have been either, probably an epic, as comedy, elegy, and tragedy come after.

3. *recitaverit ille togatas,*] Note the tense: 'Is it to go for nothing that I have listened?' 'Togatae' were comedies with Roman plots and characters, as opposed to 'palliatae,' which were Grecian.

4. *ingens Telephus,*] Telephus, king of Mysia, was a son of Hercules, and a fertile subject for tragedy. His strength is said to have approached that of his father, and no doubt was magnified by the poets Juvenal refers to. 'Ingens' refers to the length of the poem.

5. *summi plena jam margine libri*] This is meant to show the length of the poem. The back of the papyrus, or parchment (membrana), was not usually written upon, but stained. It was usual to have a wide margin; and the larger the book, the wider the margin. It is difficult to give a satisfactory meaning to 'summi libri,' unless it can mean a very large 'liber.'

7. *lucus Martis,*] There was a grove of Mars on the Appian Way, another in which Ilia brought forth Romulus and Remus, and a third in Colchis where the golden fleece was kept. Any grove of Mars will do, and there were many. Of the group of islands north of Sicily called Aeoliae, Vulcaniae, or Liparaeae Insulae, the most southerly is that now called Volcano, by the Romans Hiera or Vulcani Insula, and by the Greeks Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου. There is little doubt that this is the place to which Juvenal refers. This island was in early times a very active volcano.

9. *Quid agant venti,*] The winds follow naturally the mention of the Aeoliae Insulae, one of which is said to have been the abode of the governor of the winds.

10. *unde alius*] Jason from Colchis. The form 'pellicula' has no diminutive force, but is used for convenience.

11. *jaculetur Monychus ornos,*] Monychus and the other centaurs tore up the trees from Othrys and Pelion, and hurled them upon Caeneus at the marriage of his friend Peirithous. 'Monychus' is derived from *μονο-ονυξ*; the *o* in the compound being long on account of the contraction, while the first *ου* is dropped by syncope.

12. *Frontonis platani*] The gardens and corridors of private persons were lent, it appears, for this purpose. Fronto is a name which occurs often under the empire. In the peristylia of large houses trees of considerable size were grown. The plane-tree was much cultivated by the Romans. 'Marmora' are statues and marbles, inlaid in the walls. 'Convulsa' and 'ruptae' seem to be medical words, as if the pillars were in a state of convulsion and bursting blood-vessels. 'Lectore' seems to be the ablative of means, the main idea being contained in its adjective: "by the persistency of the reader." See M. 254, obs. 3; and compare H. 414, 5, 1; A. & S. 248, I., R. 3.

14. *Exspectes eadem*] "You may look for the same stuff from all sorts of poets, from the greatest to the least: I then (ergo) must write, for I too have been to school and been whipped and declaimed;

and since paper must be spoilt, mercy would be thrown away: I may as well spoil it as others." Schoolboys will not want to be told what 'manum ferulae subducere' means; but it appears the commentators are not agreed.

16. *Consilium dedimus Sullae*] The theme on which he professes to have declaimed belongs to the order called "suasoriae orationes." It appears to have been a favorite subject. The advice is, that Sulla should purchase sleep by laying down his power. He did so, B.C. 79, and died next year in retirement. 'Suasoriae' were distinguished from 'controversiae,' and belonged rather to boys' schools. On the case of 'altum,' see A. 52, 3, *a*; H. 371, 1, 3, (2); B. 713.

20. *Auruncae flexit alumnus,*] Suessa, in Campania, the later capital of the Aurunci, whose original town Aurunca (five miles from Suessa) was destroyed by the Sidicini, was called Suessa Aurunca. It was the birth-place of Lucilius. 'Placidi' is the nominative plural.

22. *Maevia Tuscum Figat aprum*] This refers to the 'venationes,' or fights with wild beasts at the circus and amphitheatres. The beasts fought with each other, or with men trained for the purpose and called 'bestiarii.' Of these many were free men and volunteers fighting for pay, and among them were sometimes found women, even those of equestrian and senatorial families, a thing which seems to have happened first in the year A.D. 63, in the reign of Nero. Domitian forced into the arena not only *men* of rank, but women also. The practice was put down more than a century later by a senatus-consultum, A.D. 200, in the reign of Sept. Severus. The boars of Etruria were particularly large. The women are said to hunt with their breasts bare like the Amazons.

25. *Quo tondente*] There was a barber, Licinus, mentioned by Horace, of whom the Scholiast says that he was made a senator by C. Julius Caesar. There appears to have been some such story connected with a low man of this name, for it passed into a proverb.

26. *verna Canopi Crispinus,*] Canopus, or Canobus, which gave its name to one of the branches of the Nile, was about fifteen miles from Alexandria, and a town of dissolute morals, as seaports are wont to be. It is for this reason that Juvenal makes his upstart Crispinus a native of Canopus. How he commended himself to Domitian, and rose to be an eques, does not appear. 'Verna' was a slave born in his master's house: this man was therefore a 'libertinus.'

27. *Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,*] The 'lacerna' was a loose cloak worn over the 'toga.' It was usually of costly dye and material, being worn chiefly by the rich. The words describe the way in which the cloak was worn, hitched up on the left shoulder by a brooch or something of that sort, and floating in the wind, so that the shoulder seems to pull it back. This man appears to have had light rings for summer, and heavier for winter. That he wore a gold ring does not prove that he was an eques, for by the emperors after Tiberius the privilege was given to the lowest of the people.

30. *iniquae Tam patiens Urbis,*] 'So tolerant of the town's iniquities.'

32. *lectica Mathonis*] This man was famous as a bankrupt and a blustering fellow. He was so fat as to fill his litter, which was new as his fortunes were, and short-lived. He appeared on the streets in a style which was meant to be a decoy for clients. 'Causidicus' is a title that Cicero uses with more or less contempt. The proper words for what we call an advocate, or counsel, are 'orator' and 'patronus;' a 'causidicus' was one of these of a lower sort.

33. *magni delator amici,*] This may be any low informer who betrayed his patron. The informer's trade reached its height under Tiberius, and throve under his successors. See Merivale's History, v. 130, sqq. Massa was a favorite mountebank of Nero's; and Carus was one of his pet dwarfs. Thymele and Latinus were an actress and an actor, to whom Domitian was partial; Martial begs him to look on his books as kindly as he looked at these two persons on the stage. Latinus, like the others just mentioned, was an influential informer. These informers were all afraid of the great man of their craft, and did what they could to make friends with him. Latinus lent him Thymele, who was either his mistress or his wife.

37. *Quum te summoveant*] This is the technical term for the lictor clearing the streets.

38. *summi Nunc via processus,*] 'Processus' means advancement; and 'summi processus,' advancement to the highest place. It was by these means that Otho got into favor with Nero. 'Nunc' seems to belong to 'optima.' 'Beatae' means here, as in many other places, 'rich.'

40. *Unciolam Proculeius habet*] Proculeius has a twelfth part of the estate left him, and Gillo eleven-twelfths: the first is 'heres ex uncia;' the second, 'heres ex deunce.' The divisions of the 'as' represented the portions of the estate devised to each 'heres.' The men are unknown. 'Unciola' does not occur elsewhere. It does not mean 'less than an uncia;' but 'a poor uncia,' as we say.

42. *Accipiat sane*] There is contempt in this: "Let him take it and welcome."

44. *Aut Lugdunensem*] At Lugdunum (Lyon), there was an altar, dedicated to Augustus on the day that Claudius was born in that city, 1st of August, B.C. 10. Dion Cassius relates that games were celebrated there in the lifetime of Augustus. If so, it was reserved for Caligula to establish a rhetorical contest in Greek and Latin, in which those who, in the Emperor's judgment, had acquitted themselves worst, were obliged to lick out what they had written with their tongue, or to be flogged or plunged in the nearest stream. Juvenal refers to the competitors on these occasions who had reason to be afraid lest their speeches might meet with disapprobation, and who trembled for the consequences.

46. *hic spoliator*] The 'tutor' or 'guardian' went out to the forum or to the walks, attended, 'deductus,' by crowds of parasites ('comitum,' see verse 119), supported by the fortune of his 'pupillus,' who was left to starve or to support himself by the vilest means.

47. *et hic damnatus inani Judicio*] We have the private thief and the public brought together. Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, was convicted (A.D. 100) of 'repetundae,' and banished from Italy. Marius was compelled to refund a part of his bad gains, and retired with the remainder to live comfortably, though not at home. The offence of 'repetundae,' which was that of a magistrate getting money by illegal means from the provincials under his government, was punished with different penalties at different times. The latest 'lex' on the subject was the 'lex Julia,' passed in the dictatorship of C. Julius Caesar, which abolished the punishment of exile; but it appears to have been revived under the empire. The refunding of the money proved to have been received was always part of the penalty; and in this instance it appears that 700 sestertia (about $27,500) were paid by Marius into the treasury. 'Ab octava bibit' means that he sat down to dinner earlier than usual; the ninth hour in summer, and the tenth in winter, being those at which industrious persons generally dined. 'Fruitur dis iratis,' he enjoys the anger of the gods; that is, he makes himself comfortable under his punishment. For the idiom, see A. 72, 3, *a*; H. 580; B. 1357; A. & S. 274, R. 5. 'Vincere' is the legal word for succeeding in a cause.

51. *Venusina digna lucerna?*] Horace was born at Venusia, on the Appian Way, between Beneventum and Tarentum, B.C. 65. He seems to have been looked upon by Persius and Juvenal as the representative of Roman satire. Lucilius was more in Juvenal's way, and he mentions him below with respect. 'Lucerna' only means what we mean when we speak of the 'midnight oil.'

52. *Sed quid magis Heracleas*] 'Agitem' must be repeated, but in a different sense. 'Fabulas' is the noun to be supplied, if any is needed. He asks why he should rather write on such hackneyed subjects as the labors of Hercules, the wanderings of Diomed, the adventures of Theseus, Icarus, and Daedalus, than attack the vices of the day? 'Puero' may be the ablative of "dead weight," as Mayor calls it, or the dative. See references on verse 13. 'Mugitum' refers of course to the Minotaur.

55. *Quum leno accipiat moechi bona.*] This man connives at his wife's intrigues at his own table, and gets her paramour to make him his 'heres,' which the woman could not be, if the man's census exceeded 100,000 asses. He fixes his eyes on the ceiling, as if wrapped in thought, or pretends to snore over his wine.

58. *Quum fas esse putet*] "When that man thinks he has a right to look for a tribune's place, who, while yet a boy, wasted his substance on his stables, and lost his patrimony with flying on swift coach down the Flaminian road; for he was Automedon and held the reins while the great man made himself pleasant to his man-mistress." This person may have been some favorite of Domitian's, who had been made, or hoped to be made, a 'tribunus militum.' The Flaminian road led north from Rome to Ariminum. 'Ipse' is often used independently for 'the great man,' and is here opposed to Automedon, as Achilles to

his charioteer. 'Lacerna' is a man's cloak, and 'lacernatae' means that the 'amica' was a man. Two men are recorded as having been formally married to Nero, named Sporus and Pythagoras. 'Dum' is regularly joined with the present tense. See A. 58, 2, *e*; H. 467, 4. 'Jactaret' may be 'showed himself off,' or something of that sort.

63. *Nonne libet ceras implere capaces*] "Does not one feel inclined to take out one's tablets and fill pages, even while the scene is passing under his eyes in the middle of the street?" 'Quadrivia' were the crossings of two streets, 'compita,' where numbers of passengers would be found.

64. *jam sexta cervice feratur,*] This thief was carried in a 'cathedra,' borne by six slaves, 'hexaphoron;' the sides were thrown open, by the drawing back of the curtains by which they were usually closed in. This represents the impudence of the man, who ought to have been ashamed to show his face and his laziness. 'Jam' suggests that before long he will have an even more stately equipage. Maecenas was a man of effeminate habits, an epicure, and a fop. 'Supino' means no more than lying lazingly on his back. The 'cathedra' was so constructed that the person half reclined and half sat. In the 'lectica' he lay at full length; and in the 'sella' he sat upright, as on an arm-chair. 'Cathedrae' were chiefly used by women, and were considered effeminate carriages for men. They were all carried by a single pole in front, and another behind, resting on the bearers' shoulders.

67. *Signator falso,*] This means one who has put forged seals and signatures to a false will, or has got knaves like himself to witness such a will with him. 'Falso' is the instrumental case (supply 'signo') depending on the verbal noun. A 'testamentum' required five witnesses, who put a seal and their names on the outside of it. The common way of writing wills was on waxed tablets (exiguis tabulis), whence come the expressions 'cera prima,' 'secunda,' 'ima.' 'Gemma uda' is a seal moistened before the impression was made. 'Lautus' is 'fine;' and 'beatus,' 'well to do.'

69. *molle Calenum*] The wine of Cales in Campania was among the best in Horace's time. It seems to have been one of the milder wines, from this epithet. 'Nigros' expresses the effect of the poison on the dead body. The woman is called 'Locusta,' after her who poisoned Claudius by the direction of Agrippina, and Britannicus by the order of Nero. She was put to death by Galba, Nero's successor. See Merivale, v. 456; vi. 74, 285. Poisoning was very prevalent at Rome. St. Jerome saw a man who, after he had buried twenty-one wives, married a woman who had had twenty-two husbands.

72. *Per famam et populum*] This forms one subject: "in the midst of the whispers or talking of the citizens." It seems, therefore, that the corpse was carried out with the face exposed. For the hendiadys, see H. 704, II., 2; A. & S. 323, 2, (3); M. 481, *a*.

73. *brevibus Gyaris*] This was a small barren island (still called Giura) in the Aegaean, one of the Cyclades, to which a few of the worst sort of criminals were transported in the time of the empire.

It was ill supplied with water, and it was little better than death to be sent there. 'Brevibus' is equivalent to 'parvis.' 'Deportatio in insulam' was at first added to the old punishment of 'aquae et ignis interdictio,' and at length superseded it. 'Relegatio' was a milder punishment.

74. *probitas laudatur et alget.*] These words are often quoted and imitated. For 'aliquis,' some of the MSS. have 'aliquid;' but the masculine is right. The Greeks used τις in the same way; and the same is common in most languages. To be "somebody" is the great object of ambition with half the world.

75. *praetoria,*] Fine houses fit for an emperor.

76. *stantem extra pocula caprum.*] 'Stantem' means standing out in bold relief. Such figures on cups, etc., when they were movable, were called 'emblemata' after the Greek. On the ancient Greek vessels they were very handsome and curious.

78. *praetextatus adulter?*] This seems to mean a boy paramour, who has learnt his lesson of vice before he has put on the 'toga virilis.'

80. *Cluvienus.*] It is impossible to say who is meant by this name.

81. *Ex quo Deucalion,*] The passions of mankind, such as they have been ever since the flood, are the subjects he has chosen for his pen. The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, and how men and women sprung up from the stones they threw behind them, is told at length by Ovid. The mountain on which the vessel landed was generally supposed to be Parnassus; and the divinity whose oracle Deucalion consulted was Themis. 'Sortes,' for the answer of an oracle, is taken from the Italian practice, particularly in the temples of Fortuna, whose responses were delivered by lots, wooden tablets with different inscriptions shaken out of a box, and not by word of mouth, as the Greek oracles were delivered. 'Sortes poscere' is an unusual phrase.

86. *discursus,*] This seems to signify generally the distractions, "the giddy whirl," of a busy life. 'Farrago,' which is derived from 'far,' is properly a mixture of various grains given to cattle. Here it means a medley of miscellaneous topics. 'Est' is in agreement with the predicate. H. 462, 2; A. & S. 209, R. 9; M. 216.

88. *Major avaritiae patuit sinus?*] 'Avaritia' is personified. 'Sinus' means the fold of the toga over the breast within which the purse (crumena) usually hung. A large purse would require a large 'sinus.' The old commentators differ. Grangaeus takes it this way. Britannicus explains it from the bellying of a sail with a fair wind; and Owen translates thus,

"And when did vice with growth so rank prevail?
Or avarice wanton in so fair a gale?"

Holyday, "When open lay to avarice a larger haven?" Mr. Mayor says, "When did the gulf of avarice yawn wider?" I have no doubt the first explanation is right.

alea quando Hos animos?] "When had gambling such spirit as it has now?" Juvenal says elsewhere that fathers taught their young children to game. The 'alea' was always 'vetita legibus,' but never

checked from the declining times of the republic. Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, and Domitian, are all put down as gamblers by Suetonius; and Claudius wrote a treatise on the subject. The verb to be supplied in this sentence is 'habuit.' See A. 49, 2, *c*; H. 367, 3; B. 639; M. 479, *d*.

89. *Neque enim loculis comitantibus*] Men do not now go to the gaming table with their purse and play for the contents of that, but stake their chest containing all the ready money they have. 'Tabula' is the board on which the dice were thrown. 'Neque' occurs seven times only in Juvenal; 'nec,' more than one hundred and sixty times. "'Enim' must commonly be translated by the English conjunction 'for,' but at times retains what was probably its earlier signification, 'indeed,' as in 'enim vero,' indeed, indeed; 'neque enim,' nor indeed; 'et enim,' and indeed, &c." See M. 435, obs. 4; A. & S. 198, 7, R.

91. *dispensatore videbis Armigero!*] 'Dispensator' was the cash-keeper, called also 'procurator' and 'calculator,' who formed one of the establishment in all rich houses. He is called 'armigero' because he furnished the sinews of this warfare, the money.

92. *Simplexne furor sestertia centum*] The Greeks would say ἁπλῆ μανία, madness and nothing more. A hundred sestertia would be nearly $4000. The Romans did not understand high play if this was enough to make a satirist angry; but the more than madness lay in the selfishness of the man who, after losing all his money, stakes his slave's jacket, and losing that also never restores it. 'Reddere,' however, need mean no more than 'to furnish.'

94. *fercula*] This is an accusative of kindred signification. See references on verse 16. For some ages the Roman nobility commonly used nothing but 'far' and 'puls,' and if a marriage or other joyful feast fell out, they thought it a mighty thing if they added a few small fishes and a few pounds of pork. Suetonius gives Augustus credit for moderation and good taste combined, because his custom was ordinarily to have but three courses, and at his finest dinners only six. Elagabalus once gave a dinner of twenty-two courses, the guests bathing after each.

95. *Nunc sportula primo Limine parva sedet*] The 'sportula' is now a shabby affair, and instead of being given in the 'atrium' as a regular entertainment ('coena recta') in the way clients used to be received by their patrons, it is now set out at the door, to be scrambled for by the hungry rabble, closely watched by the master, lest any should get it under false pretences. 'Sportula' was originally a wicker basket in which the poor carried away their portion of meat from a public entertainment with sacrifice. It was afterwards the name given to a dole which first under the emperors it became customary for rich men to give to those dependants who chose to pay their respects to them at their early reception in the morning, and to dance attendance upon them at other times. It was given sometimes in the shape of meat, at others in a small sum of money, usually 100 quadrantes, or one and a half denarii, about 22 cents. For the construction of 'limine,' see A. 55, 3, *f*; H. 422, 1, 2.

96. *turbae rapienda togatae.*] The 'toga' was worn out of respect to the great man, and it was counted bad taste for any person of respectability to go abroad without it. At one time it became common for persons of family to go to the theatre without the 'toga,' and Augustus put a stop to the practice. 'Turba togata,' 'gens togata,' were commonly used for the Romans.

97. *trepidat,*] This word expresses any hurried action or emotion. 'Inspicit et trepidat' means he looks in the man's face anxiously, with a sharp scrutinizing eye. 'Ille' can hardly be any but the master, who is supposed to condescend so far as to look on and regulate the distribution.

99. *jubet a praecone vocari Ipsos Trojugenas;*] The 'praeco' may mean the 'nomenclator,' whose particular duty was to attend the morning visits and to know all his master's acquaintance by sight and name, with their circumstances and all about them. The master bids this man call up the respectable people first; for, says Juvenal, proud gentlemen of the old families condescend to join us humble folk in begging. The poorer they got, the more they stuck to their pedigree, and nothing would satisfy them short of the blood of Aeneas in their veins. For the construction, see A. 57, 8, *d*; M. 396, obs. 3.

101. *Da Praetori, da deinde Tribuno.*] It must be supposed that sometimes magistrates (who were now sunk very low) were among the crowds who waited on the rich. The master says to the 'dispensator:' "Give the Praetor first, after him the Tribunus;" but a freedman, who had come before either of them, asserts his claim to be served before them; and a long speech is put into his mouth, in which he makes himself out to be richer than the men of office, and therefore entitled to take precedence of them, an odd argument at such a time. 'Sed libertinus prior est' is part of the narrative.

104. *Natus ad Euphraten,*] He may mean from Cappadocia, from which part the Romans got a good many of their slaves; or he may refer to the Jews, 97,000 of whom were taken captives in the Jewish war. 'Fenestrae' are the holes made for earrings, and they are called 'molles,' which means effeminate. Jewish boys wore them (see Exodus xxxii. 2). The man says he has five houses, which he lets out for shops, and they bring in 400,000 sesterces of income, which was an equestrian fortune; or we may understand 'quinque tabernae' to be banking houses in the forum. In that case the man means his transactions at the 'quinque tabernae' bring him in this income. With 'quadringenta,' 'sestertia' must be supplied.

106. *purpura major*] That is, the 'latus clavus,' or broad purple stripe on the tunic worn by senators, as opposed to the 'angustus clavus' worn by 'equites.' A 'tribunus militum' of the first four legions was entitled to a seat in the senate, and therefore to the 'latus clavus;' but it was allowed to others who were not senators under the empire.

107. *si Laurenti custodit in agro*] Laurentum is near the coast, and about eight miles from Ostia. It was a winter resort of the Romans, and abounded with villas. Large flocks of sheep were fed there, and

the marshes in the neighborhood were famous for wild boars. Corvinus was a cognomen of the Messalae, who were a branch of the Valeria Gens, one of the oldest families in Rome. This gentleman of old family is supposed to be reduced to keeping sheep as a 'mercenarius.' A person is said 'conducere rem faciendam,' in which case he receives pay ('merces'), or 'conducere rem utendam,' in which case he pays another for the thing used.

108. *ego possideo plus*] That 'possidere' was used generally in the sense of possessing property, and not confined to the 'possessores' technically so called, is obvious from this and many passages. The 'possessores' of the republican period were occupiers of public lands; and this man could not be a 'possessor' in that sense any more than Pallas or Licinus. He makes himself out to be vastly rich, and yet he is here begging.

109. *Pallante et Licinis.*] The man's speech ends here. Pallas was a freedman of Claudius, in whose reign he got together a large fortune, for the sake of which he was put to death by Nero, A.D. 63. Licinus was a Gaulish slave manumitted by C. Julius Caesar, and made by Augustus governor of Gallia, which he robbed, and thereby grew very rich. The plural in 'Licinis' is put, by a common usage, for the singular. The grammars fail to notice it.

110. *sacro nec cedat honori*] The person of the 'tribunus plebis' was inviolable, 'sacrosanctus.'

111. *pedibus qui venerat albis;*] Slaves newly imported are said to have been chalked on the soles of their feet when exposed for sale; but what could have been the use of chalking their soles is not obvious.

114. *templo*] The intransitive use of the verb 'habito' is more common than the transitive. The temple of Pax was one of the handsomest buildings in Rome, and was situated on the Via Sacra. It was begun by Claudius and finished by Vespasian, who deposited in it the spoils of Jerusalem brought to Rome by Titus. It was burnt down in the reign of Commodus, about 120 years after it was built. Fides had a temple on Mons Capitolinus, which was said to have been founded originally by Numa, and was afterwards restored in the consulship of M. Aemilius Scaurus, B.C. 115. No less than three temples of Victoria are mentioned, one of which was in the forum, another on Mons Palatinus, and a third on Mons Aventinus. In his first consulship M. Marcellus built a temple to Virtus near the Porta Capena, from which the Via Appia began.

116. *crepitat Concordia nido.*] "Concordia, who twitters when the birds salute their nest;" that is, her temple sounds with the twittering of the birds. Mayor translates: "who clatters when she visits her nest." The birds and the goddess, he says, are identified. There was a beautiful temple to Concordia in the Carinae, originally built by Furius Camillus after the expulsion of the Gauls, B.C. 390, and restored by Livia, Augustus's wife. There was another that stood between the Capitol and the Forum, in which the senate sometimes held its meetings. Some say that the crow, others that the stork, was the bird sacred to Concordia.

117. *summus honor*] "The highest magistrates." 'Referre' is the proper word for entering money in an account book, and 'rationes' are the accounts themselves.

119. *Quid facient comites,*] That is, those parasites whose profession it was to wait upon the rich. See above, verse 46.

120. *Densissima centum Quadrantes*] See note on verse 95. 'Densissima lectica' is equivalent to 'plurima lectica.' Men are not satisfied with going themselves, but they must take their wives with them to get a double allowance, though they be sick or in the family way. Another takes his wife's empty chair, with the curtains drawn round. "It's my wife Galla," says he; "don't keep a lady waiting." "Show yourself, Galla," says the 'balneator.' "Don't disturb her, she's asleep;" and so he takes a second dole.

127. *Ipse dies pulcro*] Here follows an account of the divisions of the day, which he calls a 'fair ordering' ironically. The distribution of the dole is the first thing in the morning; then the great man goes to the forum and the law courts, and returns home about dinner time, still attended by his clients, who, after seeing him to his door, retire wearied and disappointed, because he does not ask them to dinner, as rich men used to do before the 'sportula' was invented. We have a scene below (iii. 249, sqq.) of slaves carrying away hot viands in the afternoon; it appears, therefore, that people could take the earnings of their servility either in the morning or in the afternoon.

128. *jurisque peritus Apollo*] In the Forum Augusti there was a statue of Apollo inlaid with ivory. This forum had two porticos, in one of which were statues of Aeneas and the Roman kings, and in the other those of distinguished soldiers. Among all Apollo's attributes law was not one, and he is called 'juris peritus' simply because he was always listening to lawyers. With 'triumphales' supply 'statuae.'

130. *Aegyptius atque Arabarches,*] This last title has caused a good deal of trouble. It must have been that of some Roman officer of consideration in the province of Egypt, whatever his duties may have been. Mayor considers it a nickname, and translates it by "nabob," "great mogul." Juvenal is indignant that a provincial officer should have had a public statue, with his services inscribed on the pedestal (titulos), set up for him among the great men in the forum.

132. *Vestibulis abeunt*] The 'vestibulum' was a porch leading from the street to the door of the house. These porches were attached to large houses only; and in them the retainers sat. And Juvenal says that when they came home with their patron, they got no farther than the porch, and, receiving no invitation to dinner, they laid aside their hopes for the first time, and went away to buy a poor supper and firing to dress it, while their lord and master went in to a fine dinner which he enjoyed by himself. 'Rex,' as applied to the rich, is not uncommon. He says that of all the hopes men feed upon they are least willing to part with that of a good dinner.

136. *tantum*] See references on verse 1.

137. *et latis orbibus*] These were round tables made of various costly woods. They came into fashion in Cicero's time; and some may

have been preserved from that day, and would justly be called 'antiqui.' The use of round tables introduced a change in the distribution of the company usual in Horace's time, which was on the triclinium, or three long couches round a table of three sides to correspond to them. The round tables did not suit this arrangement, and semicircular couches were introduced, with fewer people on them. In large houses there would be several of these in a room. Seneca had five hundred tables of citrus wood with ivory feet. This was a very costly wood, with veins and spots of great beauty. Each table was made of one slab, cut across the grain. The largest known was about four and a half feet in diameter. Some such tables were sold for more than $40,000 each.

139. *Nullus jam parasitus erit:*] 'We shall soon have no parasites; but who shall bear to see this selfish gluttony of yours?' He addresses the man. 'Luxuriae sordes' means avarice and luxury combined. 'Ponere' is the word used for putting dishes on the table. At large banquets a boar served up whole, and sometimes stuffed with all manner of forced meat and rich things, was usually the chief dish.

144. *intestata*] As he made no will his property would go to his 'heredes,' not to 'amici.' Peacocks first came into fashion in Cicero's time. In the days of Pericles they were so rare in Greece that visitors came to Athens from Sparta and Thessaly to see the birds and buy eggs; a pair of birds then cost 10,000 drachmae. The common practice of bathing immediately after meals, though in hot baths, might well lead to sudden deaths and to frequent intestacy, as Juvenal expresses it. 'Ducere funus' is one of the many applications of that verb. See below on xii. 8.

146. *plaudendum*] They do not even pretend to be sorry.

149. *Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit.*] "All vice is at its height" (Stapylton). "All vice is at its zenith" (Gifford). "All vice is at its pitch-pole" (whatever that may be) is Holyday's version. The notion is, that vice is at a point from which it can climb no higher, and that the age is on the brink of a precipice, and likely to be ruined through its vices. The stone was still rolling in Horace's days; see C. iii. 6, fin.

Utere velis, Totos pande sinus.] He addresses his Muse as a ship, and bids her set all sail. For the hiatus in the next verse, see on iii. 70. On 'liberet,' consult A. 59, 5, *b*; H. 486, 5; A. & S. 264, 12.

150. *unde*] For the ellipsis, see references on verse 88, and M. 479, *a*.

153. *Simplicitas*] This seems to be equivalent to the Greek παρρησία, and to mean "bluntness." Mayor and others punctuate so as to make 'Cujus — non?' a specimen of this 'simplicitas,' as practised by Lucilius. 'Cujus' is then, of course, the interrogative.

154. *Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius*] The man is supposed to ask, 'What does it signify (refert, rem fert) whether you might attack Mucius with impunity, as Lucilius did, or not? Introduce Tigellinus, and you will be served as the Christians were.' 'Pone' means, perhaps, 'put up as your mark,' or it may be 'put into your verse,' or 'describe,' 'portray.' He means, if you attack any of the great man's

great men you will suffer for it. Sophronius Tigellinus (whose name is used proverbially) was Nero's chief favorite, and his accomplice in the burning of Rome. The origin of the fire was traced to his house. To avert from himself and his friend the odium of this crime, Nero, as is well known, charged it upon the Christians, who were put to death in great numbers and in the most cruel fashion. Among other torments they were hung up on crosses, tarred, and set on fire by way of torches. 'Taeda' here means either a pitched shirt, called below 'tunica molesta' (viii. 235), or the pine wood with which they were burnt. Juvenal represents the poor wretches with a stake thrust under their chin.

155. *Pone — lucebis*] This is equivalent to 'Si pones, lucebis.' A. 60, 1, *b*; H. 535, 2.

157. *Et latum media sulcum deducis*] The variety of readings, and still greater variety of conjectures, in respect to 'deducis,' involve the passage in almost hopeless difficulty. It seems to mean: "After you have been burned in the fire, you will be dragged through the midst of the arena, making a broad furrow." The present for the future represents the action as if now going on. Another explanation is that the 'sulcus' is a stream or gutter formed by the melted pitch running off the man's body on the ground. I do not see how 'sulcus' can have that meaning. Madvig reads 'deducit,' and derives a nominative (quae taeda) from what goes before, and then supposes the furrow to be formed in the earth by a number of victims buried up to their waists in a long row and set on fire. Some take the meaning to be ploughing the sand and wasting labor.

158. *Qui dedit ergo*] The satirist replies to the advice just given. His friend speaks again in 'Quum — poenitet.' 'Pensilibus plumis' means a 'lectica' with soft feather-bed and cushions, raised aloft on men's shoulders.

162. *Securus licet Aeneam*] 'You may safely set Aeneas and Turnus fighting; Achilles will not hurt you if you write of his death at the hand of Paris; and Hylas is at the bottom of the well with his pitcher, so you may say what you like about him.' Hylas was a favorite of Hercules; drawing water at a well, he was dragged in by the nymphs, and Hercules sought him long, sorrowing and calling upon his name, and set the people of the country (Mysia) to seek him; a subject much handled by the old poets. On the rhetorical figure in 'quaesitus urnamque secutus,' see H. 704, IV., 2; A. & S. 823, 4, (2).

167. *tacita sudant praecordia culpa.*] A cold sweat coming over the heart through the power of conscience and the fear of exposure is a forcible description. 'Praecordia' are the intestines rather than the heart. In these passion and feeling had their seat, according to the Romans; the heart was the seat of intelligence.

169. *ante tubas:*] Before the battle is begun. When a man has put on his armor, it is too late to draw back. The substance of his friend's advice is, that if he must write, he had better attack those who are dead and gone; and the poet says he will follow his advice.

171. *Flaminia*] The 'Via Flaminia' has been mentioned above,

verse 61. The 'Via Latina' was the oldest road out of Rome, and ran through the heart of Latium to Beneventum, where the 'Via Appia' joined it. The chief roads leading out of Rome were lined for several miles with the tombs of the wealthier citizens, burial within the walls of the city being forbidden by the twelve tables. Burning was practised, therefore, as early as the Decemvirate. It grew afterwards into general use, and was not discontinued till the end of the second century of the Christian era. Heinrich supposes Juvenal, by mentioning the Flaminian and Latin roads, to hint at Domitian and his favorite, Paris the actor, of whom the former was buried on the Via Flaminia, and the other on the Via Latina.

SATIRE III.

This is one of the best known of Juvenal's Satires. English readers are familiar with Johnson's imitation of it. We do not know any thing of Umbricius, unless he is the haruspex of whom Tacitus says that he warned Galba of his fate. Neither can we determine when the satire was written; but it cannot well be placed before A.D. 110.

Argument. — At his departure for Cumae (1–20), Umbricius relates to Juvenal the causes which have driven him from Rome. There is no room for honest men, where they only thrive who will make black white and embrace the meanest employment for gain; he who cannot lie, who will not play the game of parricides, adulterers, oppressors, is a useless cripple. To win the patronage of the great, you must be master of their guilty secrets (21–57). Greeks and Syrians oust the native of Rome; for they can play any part. They betray their pupils; and they supplant the oldest and most faithful clients (58–125).

And not foreigners alone, but praetors and men of noble blood as well, thwart the poor client (126–136). The best of men would not be believed on their oaths, unless rich. The poor man's shabby dress makes him a butt; he is ejected from his place in the theatre. He can never hope to marry an heiress or to receive a legacy (137–163). Rent and provisions are high in Rome, and the style of living here is more pretentious than in the country (164–189). In Rome there is constant risk of fires or falling houses; but the rich man does not care for these things (190–231). The noise of the crowded streets makes sleep impossible for the poor (232–238). The rich man is borne through the streets in a litter; the poor man is hustled by the crowds. A client is crushed to death by a load of marble; and while his household is making ready to receive him, he cowers on the shores

of Styx (239–267). Add the danger from sherds thrown from the windows (268–277); dangers from rowdies in search of adventures (278–301); and dangers from burglars and banditti (302–314).

Umbricius begs Juvenal, whenever he visits his native Aquinum, to send word to Cumae; and he promises to support his attempts to reform the age (315–322).

2. *sedem figere Cumis*] The town of Cumae was not so much frequented by the Romans as Baiae and the towns that lay within the Sinus Cumanus (the bay of Naples). The supposed residence of the Sibyl at Cumae was a large artificial cave which existed till the middle of the sixth century, when it was destroyed by Narses, the Roman general who expelled the Goths from Italy. There are some remains of such a cavern still, and it is supposed to have been the Sibyl's. On the mood of 'destinet,' consult M. 357, *a*; A. 66, 1, *d*; H. 520; B. 1255.

4. *Janua Baiarum*] Cumae was about four miles north-west of Baiae, and six from the headland of Misenum. It was not situated on the pleasant bay ('amoeni secessus') that bore its name, but the Via Domitiana, which had lately been constructed, led to Cumae, from whence there was an older road that led to the principal towns on the bay, round which it passed to Surrentum, on the opposite promontory. Hence it is called 'janua Baiarum.' Misenum, Bauli, Baiae, Puteoli, Neapolis, were all favorite resorts of the wealthy Romans lying on this 'gratum littus,' which was thickly studded with houses. 'Secessus' is the genitive of quality, or, perhaps, the genitive of apposition. A. 50, 1, *f*; H. 396, v.; Z. 425; M. 286.

5. *Ego vel Prochytam*] This is a small island (now called Procida) of volcanic formation, lying between the island Aenaria and Cape Misenum. It appears at that time to have been a lonely place, but it is now well cultivated and populous. Suburra or Subura was the name of a low street leading from the Esquiline to the Viminal. Juvenal speaks of the town as if it was all one Suburra.

6. *ut non Deterius credas*] "that you would not think it worse to shudder at fires," etc. 'Ac' means 'and, to be brief.'

9. *Augusto recitantes mense poetas?*] It was bad enough at any time; but in August, the hottest month of the year, it might be reckoned, in a jocular way, among "the thousand dangers of the barbarous town."

10. *rheda componitur una*] The 'rheda' was a four-wheeled travelling carriage, such as Horace travelled in part of the way to Brundisium. For the use of the present tense, see note on i. 60.

11. *veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.*] The 'porta Capena' was that from which the Via Appia began, in the southern quarter of the city. It led to Capua, from which it probably got its name. The Aqua Appia, the earliest aqueduct at Rome, constructed by the Censor Appius who made the road, was conducted on arches over the Porta Capena, which is therefore called 'madida.' The arches which Juvenal calls 'veteres' were about 400 years old at that time. The figure of rhetoric in this clause is hendiadys. See i. 72, note.

12. *Hic, ubi nocturnae*] 'Constituo' is used absolutely for making an appointment as we say, with either a dative of the person or an ablative with 'cum.' The nature of the appointment is usually expressed. Here it is easily understood. The grove where Numa is said to have met his mistress and teacher Aegeria was close to the Porta Capena. It had a fountain in it. Numa was said to have built a shrine there, and to have dedicated the whole to the Camenae, of whom Aegeria was one. It appears that the Jews, on payment of a certain rent, were allowed to inhabit this place when they were forbidden the city, as they were during the reign of Domitian. They were so poor that he says their whole furniture consisted in a basket and a bed of hay. They were not allowed to trade, and were driven, it appears, to beg. From 'cophinus' (κόφινος) are derived 'coffin' and 'coffer.'

15. *Omnis enim populo*] 'Populo' means, of course, the Romans. 'Merces' is the proper word for rent. Domitian was very severe in collecting the taxes from the Jews. A poll-tax of two drachmae was levied from all Jews and Christians throughout the empire. This was in addition to the 'merces;' it went to the 'fiscus,' not to the people.

16. *ejectis mendicat silva Camenis.*] The Camenae to whom the wood was dedicated, and who are here said to have been ejected to make way for beggars, were not the Muses, though by the Latin poets the two names are confounded, from Camenae being connected with Carmen in the sense of a prophecy. They were four prophetic divinities peculiar to Italy. Their names were Antevorta, Postvorta, Carmenta, and Aegeria.

17. *In vallem Aegeriae*] This is supposed to be the valley now called La Caffarella. It is one of the sources of the small river Almo. Juvenal speaks of artificial grottos, but does not probably mean more than one. He says it was not like a natural cave, and that the divinity of the stream, or the spring where the divinity was supposed to live, would look much better if the fountain had a grass margin there than with marble spoiling the native stone. There was probably a statue in that grotto representing the god, as there is still in that mentioned above.

20. *ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.*] 'Tophus' is 'rotten-stone.' 'Ingenuum' means 'plain, unsophisticated,' and 'violare,' 'to spoil.'

25. *ubi Daedalus exuit alas,*] The legend of Daedalus flying from Crete and alighting first at Cumae, where he dedicated his wings to Phoebus, is told by Virgil (Aen. vi. 14, sqq.).

27. *Dum superest Lachesi*] In the Greek conception of the Μοῖραι, who according to Hesiod were three, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, it was Clotho's business to spin the thread of human life. Lachesis determined the duration and condition of it. But, as in Horace, the three sisters are sometimes represented as spinning, and here Clotho's functions are usurped by Lachesis.

29. *Cedamus patria:*] See Merivale, v. 196.

vivant Artorius istic] These are names, according to the Scholiast,

of men of low birth, who got their living by cheating, and made themselves rich by such means. But this is only gathered from the context.

30. *qui nigrum in candida vertunt,*] 'Who will swear black is white,' which was a proverbial way of speaking with the Romans as with us.

31. *Quis facile est aedem conducere,*] As to 'conducere,' see i. 108, n. Government contracts have in all times been profitable affairs. Juvenal speaks of men contracting for the repair of temples and shrines, as well as for clearing the beds of rivers, cleansing and keeping the sewers, the repairing of harbors, and likewise for funerals, and for the sale of slaves by auction. Public works, which under the republic were looked after by the aediles, had special officers (curatores) to superintend them during the empire, and the functions and dignity of the aediles were much curtailed. These officers engaged contractors (redemptores) to carry out the necessary works. The clearing of the Tiber was particularly necessary from the quantity of alluvial soil brought down by the stream and the rapidity with which weeds formed in the bed. The Cloaca Maxima, said to have been constructed by Tarquinius Priscus, was large enough for a boat or a waggon of hay to pass down it. The underground works of Rome were on nearly as large a scale in proportion as those of London. The cost of keeping these drains in repair was very large; though the solid construction of the Cloaca Maxima with stone arches, of which remains still exist, left little to be done for that. On occasions when a public funeral ('funus indictivum' or 'censorium') was decreed, such as Tacitus often mentions, it was performed through a 'redemptor,' whose duty it would be to provide mourners (men and women), musicians, 'lectica' and bearers, funeral pile, and every thing connected with the procession, burning, and burial of the body, on such a scale as the senate might determine. 'Busta' were places adjoining sepulchres, where the bodies were burnt.

A sale by auction on the public account was conducted by a 'praeco' in the presence of a public officer, and a spear was set up on the spot where the auction took place. It may have been called 'domina' in this place because the sale transferred to the purchaser 'dominium,' or ownership, in the thing purchased. The spear is said to have been derived from the practice followed in old times in the selling of prisoners and booty on the field of battle. 'Praebere' is here 'to put up to auction.' The word 'venalia' belonged especially to slaves.

34. *Quondam hi cornicines*] These men started from the lowest beginnings, as trumpeters, who went about with companies of wrestlers and fighters to the different towns, where their puffed cheeks, he says, were well known. "Now they give shows of gladiators themselves, and put men to death to please the people," who, when a gladiator had his adversary down, gave the signal for his despatch or to spare him, by turning their thumbs up or down. The number of victims at these shows was enormous, and they were never more frequent than in the reign of Domitian. The expense lavished on them was likewise beyond belief.

36. *Munera nunc edunt,*] Public games were called 'munera' from the shows that in early times were given at funerals. The 'editor spectaculorum' sat in a conspicuous place within the 'podium,' and it is probable the signal would be taken from him, though he may have followed what appeared to be the general wish of the spectators. He might therefore be said very naturally, by the turning of his thumb, to have put to death whom he pleased of the rabble, that is, the gladiators. 'Vulgi' is the partitive genitive.

37. *inde reversi Conducunt foricas:*] They give them shows, and then go back to their trade, which condescends to low gains. They are not above farming the public 'foricae,' places of convenience in Rome for passengers, which were erected at the public expense and farmed. "Why," says Umbricius, "should they not thus shift about, since they thereby only imitate Fortune?"

40. *voluit*] The aorist tense. A. 58, 5, *c*; H. 471, 3.

41. *Quid Romae faciam?*] "What am I to do at Rome?" See references on i. 1.

42. *laudare et poscere;*] 'Poscere' is generally supposed to mean 'to ask for a copy.' It may be to call for the book, i.e. to ask to hear it.

motus Astrorum ignoro;] 'I cannot make gain by astrology, of which I know nothing.' A favorite subject for consulting these fortune-tellers upon was the probable time when a relation would die and leave his money behind.

44. *ranarum viscera*] He means the 'rubeta,' from which poison was extracted. (See i. 70.) He could not profess to be an haruspex, to ascertain such matters from the entrails of animals. In the following clause, 'quae mittit' are his letters and presents, 'quae mandat' his messages.

47. *nulli comes exeo,*] 'For this reason I never go abroad in company, I have no companion, because all have some thieving to do, and they look upon me as one maimed, with a hand fit for nothing, a mere lump of dead flesh.' This is the meaning of 'exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae,' where 'dextrae' is the genitive of quality. See A. 50, 1, *g*; H. 396, IV.; B. 757. 'Comes' means 'comes exterior,' the great man's walking companion.

49. *nisi conscius*] 'Conscius' is an accomplice. 'Cui' is best read here as a dissyllable. The next is a good expressive line, the heart boiling with secrets it is afraid to betray, being a party to the crimes through taking reward to hide them. 'Honesti' is the emphatic word in the 52nd verse. The name of Verres has never ceased to be proverbial since the exposure of his crimes by Cicero. 'Tanti' is the genitive of value.

56. *ponendaque praemia*] 'Rewards you must one day part with, lay down.' 'Ponere' is used like 'deponere.'

58. *Quae nunc divitibus gens*] He goes on to tell how the town is overrun with Greeks and Eastern strangers. 'Properabo fateri' implies that the confession is disgraceful, and that he forces himself to it as a man who makes haste to do a disagreeable duty and get it over.

61. *quamvis quota portio*] He corrects himself and says, 'and yet

how small a portion of our dregs are from Greece?' 'Quota' with 'pars' (or here 'portio') generally signifies 'how small a part.' 'Quotus' is the question which is answered by an ordinal numeral (M. 74, obs. 2; A. & S. 119, II.), and 'quota pars' means properly, in a series of graduated parts what place would the thing occupy? and the implication is that it would come very late in the series. 'Whath part' (if we had such a word) would express 'quota pars,' as 'septima pars,' 'octava,' etc., would be the seventh, eighth, etc., part.

62. *in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*] The Orontes is here put generally for the province of Syria, which was added to the Roman dominions by Cn. Pompeius, B.C. 65. Its own trade, and that of the East, to which it opened a wider door, brought to Rome that influx of slaves of which Juvenal complains. The Orientals have little or no ear for music; and on lower ground than Umbricius takes, he might have run away from the music of Eastern flageolets, harps, and drums. They were probably such as are still in use all over Asia, and no discord is comparable to that which is there listened to with satisfaction. The first instrument has usually but two or three holes, and no stops, and the last (corresponding to the Indian tomtom) is beaten with no perceptible reference to time. The sort of harp here mentioned was called 'sambuca,' and it was triangular, which is meant by 'obliquas.' The Circus Maximus had vaults under it, which were occupied by prostitutes. 'Jussas' means that they were hired for the purpose by others, who made gain of their prostitution. For the construction, see i. 99, note. 'Ite' means 'go thither.'

66. *picta lupa barbara mitra!*] 'Pictus,' like ποικίλος, means 'embroidered.' The women in Eastern Asia do not wear any thing on their head but a veil to draw over their face. The 'mitra,' a sort of light turban, belonged to the women of Syria and Asia Minor. The effeminate Romans took to wearing it. It is always associated with them or with harlots. Why these persons should be called by a name which means a she-wolf is obvious. According to Livy, the story of Romulus and Remus being nursed by a wolf is founded on their having sucked the breasts of a 'meretrix.'

67. *Rusticus ille tuus*] He apostrophizes Romulus. Of 'trechedipna' the Scholiast says they were Greek shoes (caligulae) worn by parasites running to dinner. The derivation from τρέχειν and δεῖπνον is obvious enough; and whatever the things were, the context shows they were Greek. That they were shoes may be inferred from the name. 'Rusticus' does not here mean a rustic literally, but the descendants of rustics.

68. *Et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.*] 'Ceroma' (κήρωμα) was a preparation of clay, oil, and wax, with which the Greek wrestlers were anointed. 'Niceteria' (νικητήρια) here means the prizes of victory for wrestling, a practice introduced at Rome under the empire. The early Romans despised the Greek gymnastic exercises, and Nero was the first to build a public gymnasium or training school for wrestlers, etc. Juvenal mentions this as one of the discreditable Greek innovations. He uses Greek words designedly.

69. *Hic alta Sicyone,*] 'These Greeks come from all parts,' he means. That part of Sicyonia which lay on the coast (of the Sinus Corinthiacus) was level, and the city of Sicyon, its capital, was originally on the plain, about a mile and a half from the shore. But this was destroyed by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and a new town was built by him, which stood on a fortified eminence. Sicyon was celebrated for its refinements. Amydon is introduced as being at the other end of Greece, on the banks of the Axius in Macedonia. Others, he says, are islanders, some from Andros, and others from Samos, the name of which represented all that was refined and luxurious in the earlier history of the Asiatic Greeks, but which was itself much decayed at this time. Tralles and Alabanda were flourishing towns on the main land; the former in Lydia, on the right bank of the Maeander; the other in Caria, on the river Marsyas. The last vowel in 'Samo' is preserved from elision. See M. 502, *b*; A. & S. 305, 1, (2).

71. *Esquilias dictumque*] He chooses to represent the city by an important part of it, including the third and fifth Regions, which comprised the Esquiline and Viminal hills, and some of the best houses in Rome. 'Esquiliae' is thought to be derived from 'excolo.' Mons Viminalis was supposed to have been so called from an osier plantation that grew on the top of it.

72. *Viscera*] 'Viscera' and 'domini' are in apposition with the subjects of 'petunt.'

74. *Isaeo torrentior.*] This Isaeus was a rhetorician of great eminence who lived in Juvenal's time.

Ede quid illum] 'Come tell us what you think he is (that is, what is his particular accomplishment). Why, he is every thing or any thing you please.' By 'illum' is plainly meant any one of these Greeks. They were ready to open schools for grammar or rhetoric or geometry or drawing or wrestling; to tell the will of heaven or to dance upon the tight-rope; to administer medicines or charms; it was all the same to them. It must be remembered that the Grammatici and Rhetorici, or teachers of grammar and rhetoric, were mostly foreigners and freedmen. These subjects formed the regular teaching of a Roman boy, till he put on the 'toga virilis,' and rhetoric he continued afterwards. 'Aliptes' seems to mean 'a trainer,' the name being taken from the 'ceroma' with which the wrestlers were greased (verse 68). The Latin for 'schoenobates' was 'funambulus.' These persons were very expert. The professional physicians at Rome were chiefly Greeks.

76. *geometres,*] This word must be scanned as a trisyllable by synizesis.

78. *Graeculus esuriens*] 'The starveling Greek, bid him fly up to the skies and he 'll do it' (or try). Juvenal adds, 'In short (if you doubt me), it was no other than a Greek, born in the heart of Athens, who put on wings and flew.' Daedalus was generally reputed to have been an Athenian. 'Jusseris' is 'suppose you bid him.' See M. 352; Z. 529, and note; A. & S. 260, R. 3; cf. A. 57, 5. Such instances

as this should not be classed with the subjunctive of concession; they are the subjunctive of supposition.

81. *fugiam conchylia?*] Their fine clothes dyed with purple, the juice of the shell-fish purpura and murex. Persons of most consideration would naturally sign wills and so forth as witnesses before their inferiors, and lie upon handsome sofas with fine coverings.

83. *quo pruna et cottona vento?*] Pliny says 'cottona' was the name of small figs from Syria. He also speaks in the same place of plums from Damascus ("Damsons"), of which both were well known to the Italians. To these imported fruits the 'bacca Sabina' is opposed — the olive grown on the Sabine hills, where it still grows in abundance. The Aventine is put for Rome as the Esquiliae and Viminal were above.

88. *collum cervicibus aequat*] 'Collum' signifies the whole neck before and behind, including the throat; 'cervix' the hinder part, where the strength of the neck lies. Antaeus, the giant wrestler of Libya, was beaten by Hercules only by lifting him up from his mother earth, from whom he got all his strength, and so squeezing him to death. There were many pictures and sculptures representing the scene; and Juvenal writes as if he had seen one.

91. *quo mordetur gallina marito.*] 'Marito' is the ablative of the agent, without the preposition. H. 388, 4; B. 879; A. & S. 248, R. 3. The noun is expressed in the relative clause, and must be supplied with 'ille' in the antecedent clause. M. 319, obs.; A. 48, 3, *b*; B. 687; A. & S. 206, (3), (*b*).

92. *sed illis Creditur.*] 'We may flatter just as they do, but they are believed (and we are not).' An instance of this is mentioned in the life of Nero. He had a great opinion of his musical talents, and paid a visit to Greece in order to display them there. He sang at a dinner party, and being highly applauded, he is said to have cried, "Solos scire audire Graecos, solosque se et studiis suis dignos."

93. *An melior quum Thaida sustinet,*] 'Is there a better actor than he when he plays a courtezan, or a chaste matron, or an unveiled strumpet? You could declare it was a woman before you, not a masked man.' The mask is put for the man who wore it. 'Palliolum' was a small square cloth worn over the head to protect it from the weather, or, in the case of prostitutes, to hide the face. Men wore it only when they were sick.

100. *Rides,*] See A. 60, 1, *c*; A. & S. 261, R. 1; M. 442, *a*, obs. 2.

103. *Accipit endromidem;*] This was a thick Gaulish blanket, worn in cold weather, or when a man had heated himself by running, from which the name is derived. Compare Hamlet's dialogue with Osric:

"*O.* I thank your lordship, 'tis very hot.
H. No, believe me, 'tis very cold; the wind is northerly.
O. It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.
H. But yet methinks it is very sultry and hot for my complexion.
O. Exceedingly, my lord, it is very sultry as it were, I can't tell how."

On 'si poscas, Accipit,' see A. 59, 5, *a*; M. 370, and obs. 1; A. & S. 261, R. 2.

106. *A facie jactare manus,*] Bringing the hand to the lips and kissing it, to throw the kiss towards a person, was a mark of respect. 'Adorare' is derived from this custom, which is of Eastern origin. With us it implies more familiarity than it did with the ancients.

108. *Si trulla inverso*] 'Trulla,' which is connected with the Greek *τρύβλιον*, is used for a drinking-cup and a washing-basin. It seems here to be used for a more homely vessel.

110. *Non matrona Laris,*] 'Laris' means 'a man's house.' 'Sponsus' was one who was betrothed to a woman, as 'sponsa' was a woman who was betrothed to a man. A youth could not contract marriage till he had ceased to be 'impubes,' the time of which was not strictly defined, but was generally taken to be fourteen. But a contract of marriage might be made after seven, and a child might so be 'sponsus.' By a law passed in the time of Augustus, a girl might not be betrothed till she was ten, the age of puberty being twelve from the earliest times.

114. *transi Gymnasia*] It is doubted whether this means 'pass by,' that is, 'say no more of the gymnasia, and let us go on to a crime of a larger sort;' or whether it should be rendered, 'let us pass on to the schools, and speak of a crime committed by one of your greater philosophers,' as if it were 'transi ad gymnasia.' The latter construction seems preferable. The philosophers' schools were called 'gymnasia' because they commonly held them in buildings erected for gymnastic exercises. 'Crimen majoris abollae' the Scholiast says was a proverb. The origin of the saying, I think, must remain doubtful. It means in some way or other a greater crime. 'Abolla,' which is derived from *ἀμβολλά*, a form of *ἀναβολή*, is used in the next Satire (iv. 76), and then it is worn by a senator. It was probably used indiscriminately for the outer garment worn out of doors, whether 'lacerna,' 'pallium,' or whatever it might be, or the military 'sagum.'

116. *Stoicus occidit Baream,*] Servilius Barea Soranus was proconsul of Asia in the reign of Claudius, and a man of high character. He fell under the displeasure of Nero, and was charged with treasonable practices, and his daughter Servilia with aiding him. They were condemned to death. The chief witness against them was P. Egnatius Celer, who was afterwards, in Vespasian's reign, charged with this offence by Musonius Rufus, and was condemned to death.

117. *ripa nutritus in illa*] The Scholiast says this was the city of Tarsus, which was situated on the banks of the Cydnus in Cilicia, and was supposed to have been founded by Perseus. Pegasus, who is said to have sprung from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa, when Perseus slew her at Tartessus in Spain, is supposed to have dropped a hoof here (*ταρσός*), and thus to have given its name to the city. Tarsus was famous for its schools of learning, which were second to none in the world.

120. *Protogenes aliquis*] All these are Greek names representing parasites, who contrived to monopolize their great friends as only Greeks were wont ('gentis vitio').

125. *jactura clientis.*] It must be remembered that the word 'cliens'

is used to express a totally different relation between patron and dependent from what it expressed in the earlier times of the republic. At this time it did not involve a legal and political distinction, and meant no more than a humble friend, a dependent who looked to another for support, counsel, and so forth. 'Jacturam facere' is to throw a thing away so as to save the rest. It is an expression borrowed from nautical language. 'To throw a person overboard' is a common conversational phrase with us, meaning to get rid of him. On 'perierunt,' consult A. 58, 5, *a*; H. 471, 1; B. 1095.

126. *Quod porro officium,*] He here enters upon a subject we have had before (i. 101). 'Porro' means 'to proceed,' 'in the next place.' 'Ne nobis blandiar' is another way of saying 'to speak the truth.' 'Si' has the sense of 'even if.' There were at this time eighteen praetors in the city. Each praetor had two lictors allowed him. 'Ire praecipitem jubeat' is a common expression of haste. 'Orbus' was the legal word for a married person who had no children. The speaker means to say these rich ladies have long been up waiting for their visitors, and the praetor is in a fright lest one of his colleagues should get to the house before him.

131. *Divitis hic servi*] 'Claudere latus' means in effect to give the wall to a man with whom you are walking. See Horace, S. ii. 5. 17. The 'servus' is now a freedman, and the young gentleman is glad to wait upon him. 'Ingenuus' is one born of free parents. 'Alter' means the freedman, and what follows is only a way of saying he was very rich and could indulge himself as he pleased.

132. *quantum in legione tribuni Accipiunt*] It does not appear what the pay of a tribune was, but we may conclude from this passage that it was not a small sum compared with prices in these times.

133. *Calvinae vel Catienae,*] These represent women of birth.

135. *vestiti facies scorti*] She in pursuit of her trade would appear in a showy dress, carried about in a chair (i. 65, n.), to invite and be inspected by customers. Or else she sat in a chair in her house, and those who came in to admire must pay her well before she would get down. To invite her from her sella, whichever it was, would be the same as to consent to her price.

137. *Da testem Romae*] He goes on to say honest poor men are not believed at Rome on their oath. By the host of the Idaean divinity, Cybele, he means P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who for his great merits was chosen by the senate to escort the image of that goddess, which was brought from Pessinus to Rome B.C. 204. Numa was the most pious of the kings. L. Caecilius Metellus, who triumphed during the first Punic war, who was twice consul, once magister equitum, dictator, and for twenty-two years Pontifex Maximus, shortly after he was chosen to be Pontifex rescued the palladium from the temple of Vesta when that was on fire. He lost his sight on that occasion. The Romans professed to have in the temple of Vesta the original Trojan palladium, brought from Troy by Aeneas. The oldest tradition made it an image not of Pallas Athene, but of another damsel of that name (Pallas), whom the goddess slew. But this was lost sight of, and

possession of the image was counted a sufficient pledge of the help of Minerva and the safety of Rome.

141. *quot pascit servos?*] The slaves in some households at this time, if the statements on record are to be believed, were counted by thousands. There must have been many masters who had slaves by hundreds in their 'familia urbana' and 'rustica' together. Pliny complains of the extent of the lands held by single owners, and says it is ruining the cultivation of Italy, and that the same mischief was extending to the provinces. 'Possidet' means the owner, as in i. 108.

142. *paropside*] This is one of the many names the Romans had for their dishes, borrowed from the Greek.

143. *Quantum quisque sua*] So the world says, according to Horace, "tanti quantum habeas sis" (S. i. 1. 62). We say that a man is 'worth' what he owns.

144. *Jures licet et Samothracum*] The most secret mysteries known to the ancients were connected with the worship of the Cabiri, deities of whose nature little is known. They were worshipped in more than one island of the Aegaean, but in none so solemnly as in Samothrace, which lies in the north part of that sea.

147. *calceus*] This was a walking shoe, and all these remarks bear on the appearance of the poor man out of doors, where he is obliged to show his poverty among well-dressed upstarts who sneer at him.

154. *de pulvino surgat equestri*] The speaker is the 'designator.' He bids the poor man leave the seats of the equites, the fourteen front rows of the theatre, which had cushions and were reserved for that order by a law proposed by the tribune L. Roscius Otho. Any one who had the equestrian census of 400,000 sesterces might take his place there. Here might come then the pander or the fat auctioneer, or the gladiator and the trainer. The senators sat in the orchestra. This law of Otho's fell into disuse, but it was revived by Domitian. 'Praecones' were criers of various sorts. The 'pinnirapus' was one of the many sorts of gladiators. He may be supposed to have been so called because it was his business to snatch a feather from the head of his adversary. 'Lanistae' were the persons who trained the gladiators in their 'ludi,' training-schools, either on their own account to let them out, or for private persons. 'Vano' means 'idle.'

160. *censu minor*] Less than the equestrian above mentioned, or it may be taken generally for a man of small means. 'Sarcinulis' may refer to the wife's fortune; or it may only mean such things as a woman required, or thought she required, after her marriage, and 'impar' means that the man's property was unequal to provide his wife with such things. 'Placuit' is aorist; see on verse 40.

162. *Quando in consilio est Aedilibus?*] The Aediles were at this time and had been for many years the lowest of the magistrates. 'In consilio' is equivalent to 'assessor,' and that means a legal adviser to a magistrate, such as our own magistrates have. The assessor to an Aedile need be but a humble person, but even to this a poor man was not eligible, according to this speaker.

163. *Debuerant olim*] 'Debuerant olim migrasse' means 'it is long

since they owed it (to themselves) to emigrate.' See A. 60, 2, *c* and Rem.; H. 512, 2, 1; A. & S. 259, R. 3, and (*b*); M. 348, *c*, obs.; B. 1274. He means to say that the poor ought not to have waited at Rome to be brought to this contemptible condition, but long ago to have migrated in a body, as he and his family were doing.

164. *Haud facile emergunt*] "Slow rises worth by poverty depress'd," is Johnson's version, and he wrote from experience.

166. *magno hospitium miserabile,*] 'Hospitium' is here put for a lodging, 'coenaculum,' an upper story room, such as those in which most poor men lived. Even for such a miserable lodging the speaker says they had to pay a high rent, and they could not do without a certain number of slaves, whose bellies must be filled, and their frugal family meal cost a good deal. The customary number of slaves in every household had grown enormously even since the days of Horace.

168. *Fictilibus coenare pudet,*] Men are ashamed to dine off earthenware, though they are not so when they leave Rome and suddenly find themselves in the country, with plain fare before them. This seems to be the meaning, and 'negavit,' the reading of all the MSS., will bear it, if understood in an aoristic sense. The Marsi were of Sabine origin, and all who were so were included under the name Sabelli.

170. *veneto duroque cucullo.*] 'Venetus' is 'sea-green.' 'Cucullus' was a hood attached to the 'lacerna.' Ruperti approves of 'culullus,' a sort of cup, as a substitute for 'cucullus,' because Umbricius is talking about dining.

171. *si verum admittimus,*] This is a sort of phrase like 'ne nobis blandiar' (verse 126). He says that no one wears the toga in a large part of Italy till he is dead, when the body of a free person was always clad in a toga such as accorded with his rank. In the country towns dress was still very simple; at Rome it was different.

174. *tandemque redit ad pulpita*] 'Tandem' means after a long interval. It happened rarely; that is, when the annual feast came round the same old well-known play came with it. 'Pulpitum' (λογεῖον) was the front part of the stage, where the actors spoke. 'Exodia' were merry interludes, introduced after each of the 'Atellanae,' whence the name; though it is doubtful whether, as acted in these rustic theatres, the 'exodium' was strictly of the nature here described.

175. *personae pallentis hiatum*] The masks used in these 'exodia' were of a grotesque kind, such as those used by the Greeks in the satyric drama. These masks had the mouth wide open, representing broad laughter or grinning.

178. *Orchestram et populum:*] The form of a Roman theatre was much like the Greek. The seats for the spectators formed a semicircle, and rose by steps from the floor; the semicircular portion of which between the seats and the stage was called the orchestra. Here the chorus performed their part in the Greek theatres; in the Roman theatre that space was occupied with seats for the magistrates and

foreign ambassadors. 'Clari velamen honoris,' the dress of a noble magistrate, is meant in a jocular way; for if the aediles at Rome were reduced so low, those of the country towns were small enough. But they were great in their own little sphere. Yet all alike wore tunics.

184. *Quid das*] 'What sums do you give the servants that you may have the privilege of attending sometimes the "salutatio" of Cossus?' which was the cognomen of a branch of the Cornelia gens. Compare Horace, Sat. i. 9. 56.

185. *Ut te respiciat*] Fabricius Veiento was sent into banishment in the reign of Nero, but returned in Domitian's, and distinguished himself as an informer and a flatterer of the emperor. He also had the favor of Nerva.

186. *Ille metit barbam,*] When a youth first shaved it was a holiday, and the young down was sometimes offered to some god, with the long hair, worn in boyhood, but cut off when the 'toga virilis' was put on. This ceremony was observed by certain masters with their favorite slaves. Umbricius supposes such a case, and says the house was immediately full of cakes offered to the slave, as if he were a son of the family. 'Libis venalibus' means, as Britannicus says, cakes which the slave would sell to make money by, which money would go to increase his 'peculium.'

187. *Accipe et istud Fermentum*] 'Take this home to stir your bile.' The words are addressed by Umbricius to his friend; 'istud' being the fact that follows, of which what goes before is an illustration. The 'peculium' of a slave was the property he was able to acquire for himself by such means as his master might allow, and which would arise in various ways, direct and indirect. It was virtually his own, but strictly no slave could hold property. Slaves often accumulated large sums, purchased their freedom, and made themselves comfortable for life.

190. *gelida Praeneste ruinam,*] Praeneste (Palestrina) was twenty-three miles east of Rome, on the edge of the Apennines. Virgil and Horace, and all other writers, use Praeneste in the neuter gender; but in Aen. viii. 361 Virgil has "Praeneste sub ipsa," where, as here, it is feminine. Gabii is repeatedly mentioned by Horace as a deserted town. It lay on the Via Praenestina, midway between Rome and Praeneste. Juvenal here calls it 'simplices,' 'unsophisticated;' but this was compared with Rome. Volsinii, which retains its name under the form of Bolsena, was an important city of Etruria, situated at the foot of the hills above the lake that was called after it. It stood on the Via Cassia, seventy-two miles from Rome. Tibur (Tivoli), which was sixteen miles from Rome, on the banks of the Anio, is here called 'pronum,' and by Horace 'supinum,' because it was situated on the slope of a hill. 'Arx' was commonly used for a town so built, though the citadel was gone or had never existed, or for a hill on which no town was built at all.

193. *tenui tibicine fultam*] 'Tibicen' is a buttress. Festus says it is so called because it supports houses as the fluteplayer sustains the singer, which Forcellini quotes, or it would not be worth noticing.

194. *sic labentibus obstat Villicus*] 'Sic' is used δεικτικῶς, and means 'in this crazy way.' 'Villicus,' which properly signified the steward of a farm, was applied to the superintendent of any other works. Here it means the agent of the owner. 'Labentibus' means 'the falling inmates' or 'the falling walls.'

198. *jam frivola transfert*] Juvenal calls the man Ucalegon, having in mind Aeneas's description of the burning of Troy (Aen. ii. 310). 'Jam' is only introduced to make the scene more present. 'Poscit aquam,' 'cries *Fire!*' 'Tabulatum' is that which is laid down with boards, 'tabulae,' and so is used for a story of a house. Three stories were found in lodging-houses only; and the 'tertia tabulata' were the 'coenacula' referred to above (verse 166, n.). For 'tibi,' see A. 51, 7, *d*; H. 389; B. 838. 'Trepidare,' which means running to and fro, contains the root 'trep-' which appears in τρέπω.

203. *Lectus erat Codro*] He puts the case as if it was true. Procula was probably a well-known dwarf. For the case, see M. 308, obs. 1. 'Marmore' refers to the 'abacus.' The use of 'nec non' simply for 'et' is later than Cicero. He uses the phrase only when 'non' is closely joined with some other word in the sentence.

206. *Jamque vetus Graecos*] He had some old Greek volumes in an old chest, which the mice were gnawing. The Opici, as the Greeks called them, or Osci, as the Romans, were among the earliest inhabitants of Italy, from whom appear to have been descended the Latini and other nations on the west coast of Italy to the southern extremity of Campania, the Sabellian races of central Italy, and the Apulians and others on the eastern coast. Their name here is taken as synonymous with 'barbari,' which would be natural, as the only trace of that people to be found in Juvenal's time was in their language, as it appeared in the Atellane plays, which were unintelligible to the multitude.

208. *quis enim*] This is used like τίς γάρ; see Hadley's Greek Grammar, 870, *b*.

212. *Si magna Asturici*] This name appears in a great variety of shapes in the MSS. None of them are known names.

215. *Ardet adhuc*] 'Ardet,' as Heinrich observes, is used impersonally: 'While the flames are raging, already friends come bustling up.' 'Accurrit qui donet' is 'one runs up to give.' 'Nuda' implies that the statues were of Greek workmanship. There were two sculptors named Polycletus, of whom the more famous is conjectured to have been a native of Sicyon, and afterwards a citizen of Argos. He lived during the Peloponnesian war, and Euphranor at Athens about a century later.

218. *Haec Asianorum*] The MSS. vary here, and the verse seems corrupt. Some texts have the word 'Phaecasianorum,' which means 'wearing the shoe called phaecasia.' Whether 'haec' should be taken for the neuter plural or the feminine singular is doubted.

219. *forulos mediamque Minervam,*] 'Book-cases and a bust of Minerva.' A 'modius' was equal very nearly to two gallons.

220. *meliora et plura reponit Persicus*] He replaces his losses with

much better things than the fire has destroyed; people do the same thing now by defrauding the insurance companies. 'Tamquam' is very frequently used by Tacitus and other writers of this period after such verbs as 'suspicio,' to denote that of which one is suspected, etc., without implying any doubt as to the justice of the opinion. The name is changed from Asturicus to Persicus; whether the same person is meant is immaterial.

223. *Si potes avelli Circensibus,*] The Ludi Circenses, or Magni, took place annually, and were of the highest antiquity, having been first celebrated by Romulus, as the tradition went, on the occasion of the rape of the Sabine women, under the name of Consualia. They consisted of horse, chariot, and foot races, sham fights, both land and water, wrestling, boxing, and fighting with beasts, as well as feats of horsemanship such as are witnessed in modern circuses. These were performed in the Circus Maximus, the vast building erected, according to tradition, by Tarquinius Priscus between the Aventine and Palatine hills. The passion of the Romans for these exhibitions was very strong. Juvenal has many allusions to this. 'Avelli' is in the middle voice.

optima Sorae Aut Fabrateriae] 'Paratur' is opposed to 'conducis;' one is 'to buy,' the other 'to hire.' The three towns here mentioned were in Latium; Sora was on the Liris, and still retains its name; part of the walls also are still in existence. Fabrateria was a town also on the banks of the Liris, but about twelve miles lower down, by the junction of that river and the Trerus. Frusino was situated halfway between Fabrateria and Ferentinum, also on the Via Latina, and on the right bank of the Cosa, a tributary of the Trerus. Cicero had a farm there.

228. *culti villicus horti,*] As to 'villicus,' see above, verse 195. Here the man is his own gardener. Pythagoras, as is well known, forbade his disciples to eat animal food, on account of his belief in the transmigration of souls.

231. *dominum fecisse lacertae.*] This probably means as much ground as a lizard would run over, which, as they seldom go far, would not be much.

232. *sed illum*] This is a sort of parenthesis, and meant for another stroke at town living, where people eat all manner of food and go to bed with it undigested. 'Sed' is commonly so used. Compare M. 437, *a*. 'Nam' takes up the sentence from 'vigilando,' and explains the reason of that general assertion. 'Imperfectus' is undigested and indigestible. 'Ardenti stomacho' is a feverish stomach. Indigestion brings on the illness, and want of sleep kills the patient. 'Plurimus' does not strictly agree with 'aeger,' which is an adjective. It is used absolutely; 'many a man, being sick.' The last syllable in 'vigilando' is short by exception. M. 19, 4, obs.; A. & S. 297, R. 2. 'Peperit' is aorist.

234. *Nam quae meritoria*] 'Meritoria' are lodgings, and here are equivalent to the 'coenacula' mentioned above (verse 166).

237. *stantis convicia mandrae*] This means the abuse heaped upon the

horses and mules kept standing for want of room at the corners ('inflexu,' 'turning') of the crowded and narrow streets. 'Mandra' (μάνδρα) is properly a stable or other place where animals are herded: here it is applied to the beasts themselves, because they are huddled together. We have in English the word 'archimandrite.'

238. *Druso vitulisque marinis.*] By Drusus some of the commentators suppose is meant the emperor Claudius, whose cognomen was Drusus, and who is said by Suetonius usually to have gone to sleep after dinner, and to have been naturally lethargic. It is not impossible his name may have passed into a proverb; if not, it is useless to ask who this Drusus was. Sea-calves are not lively animals in a menagerie, where Juvenal had probably seen many; for every sort of animal was brought to Rome.

239. *Si vocat officium,*] 'Officium' is here used for the man's attendance on the great or rich. 'Liburno' would seem to be the ablative of the means. The rich, during the empire, had horsemen (Numidae) and runners ('cursores') to go before their carriages. The scene here described may be seen in any part of the East every day. The 'fenestra' was no more than the opening of the curtains.

243. *Ante tamen veniet:*] Yet, though he takes the thing so easily, he will get there before poor people who are bent on the same errand. The wave before ('breakers ahead') and the crowd behind are only the throngs of people in the streets, who are jostled by the rich man and jostle the poor in their turn. 'Assere' is not the pole of the litter, but any pole that is being carried along the street. 'Metreta,' which was the name of an Attic vessel containing about nine gallons, was a jar for oil or wine, a little larger than an 'amphora.'

249. *quanto celebretur sportula fumo?*] 'How the crowded sportula smokes.' 'Celebrare' is 'to crowd.' It contains the same root (creb-) as 'creber.' From this scene it appears that the viands were carried away in the afternoon. The word 'convivae' is used ironically; they ought to be the great man's guests, and he puts them off with a mess of meat. 'Culina' was a portable kitchen in which the provisions were carried to keep them warm.

251. *Corbulo vix ferret*] This may be any strong man. The Roman general Corbulo is described by Tacitus as of large stature, and his name may have passed into a proverb in this matter; but it is impossible to say.

254. *Longa coruscat Sarraco*] 'Sarracum' was a wagon, and is applied elsewhere to the constellation of the Great Bear, which we call Charles's Wain.

257. *qui saxa Ligustica portat*] Stone from the quarries of Liguria; that is, from the Maritime Alps. 'Procubuit' and 'fudit' are used like the Greek aorist.

261. *More animae.*] 'Like a breath.' 'Domus' is the 'familia domestica.' 'Foculus' was a small movable brazier, as 'focus' or 'caminus' was a fixture of stone or brick. 'Strigil' was a scraper used after bathing; they were oiled to prevent their hurting the skin. 'Sonat' means clatters or rings, for these things were commonly of

metal. 'Guttus' was a bottle with a long thin neck, commonly used for oil. 'Pueros' are the same as 'domus.'

265. *tetrumque novicius horret*] 'Novicius,' 'novice,' was usually applied to new slaves not accustomed to their work. Here only it means a new-comer. The 'triens,' of which specimens still exist, was a copper coin, one-third of an 'as.' The fancy about Charon's fee was not known to the early poets of Greece, and is here brought in to be ridiculed.

268. *diversa pericula noctis:*] 'Other dangers, namely, those of the night.' The word 'ac' seems to be used rather pleonastically, like 'et' after 'multus.' Compare verse 315; and consult Z. 756. 'Quod spatium tectis' means 'what a distance there is from the tops of the houses to the street.' These lodging-houses were built usually three stories high, but the law was that they must not exceed seventy feet. It was not usual for Roman houses to have windows facing the street on any but the upper stories. According to law, if any damage was done by throwing any thing out of a window, the tenant of the house was obliged to pay twice the amount of the damage. 'Silicem' means 'the pavement.'

274. *Adeo tot fata*] 'So surely do as many deaths await you, as there are waking windows open on that night while you are passing.' 'Adeo' gives strength to the sentence.

279. *Dat poenas,*] He suffers torture if he has not had the luck to kill somebody; he cannot sleep, but tosses on his bed like Achilles when he mourned for Patroclus. Compare the Proverbs of Solomon (iv. 14): "Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men. For they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their rest is taken away, unless they cause some to fall."

281. *Ergo non aliter*] There is no need to talk of Juvenal interrupting Umbricius; the man goes on speaking himself: 'Can't they then sleep, you may well say, without all this? Nay, some sleep all the better for a quarrel.' The final vowel in 'ergo' is generally short in Juvenal. See references on verse 232. 'Improbus,' which means here 'hot-headed,' has a great variety of meanings elsewhere, the idea at the root of them all being that of excess.

283. *quem coccina laena*] The scarlet 'laena,' worn by the rich, dyed with the 'coccum,' cochineal, was one of the varieties of 'lacerna,' a thick woollen cloak thrown over the toga. The youth may be the worse for wine, but he can distinguish between a rich man and a poor, who only goes abroad by the light of the moon or of a tallow-candle, the wick of which he has to humor and regulate with his fingers to keep it from flaring away, as he had no lantern to put it in.

292. *Unde venis?*] This was the common salutation of civility, as here of rudeness. See Hor. S. i. 9. 62: "Unde venis et quo tendis?" S. ii. 4. 1: "Unde et quo Catius?"

cujus aceto, Cujus conche tumes?] This is his way of asking where the poor man has been dining. The leek was either 'sectivum' or 'capitatum;' the first when it was cut as soon as it came above the ground, the other when it was allowed to grow to a head. Nero used to eat the first kind in order to clear his voice.

296. *Ede ubi consistas:*] He treats him as a Jew beggar, and asks him where he posts himself to beg, in what 'proseucha' he must look for him if he wants to find him. A 'proseucha' was an oratory, a building erected for the use of those towns where there was no synagogue, outside the walls by a stream or the sea-side, for the benefit of ablution. It was used like the synagogue for reading the law and prayer three times a day. In the Acts of the Apostles (xvi. 13) the writer says *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* (Philippi) *παρὰ ποταμὸν, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι*, and there *προσευχὴ* is generally understood to be a building of this sort. In the Gospel by St. Luke (vi. 12) our Saviour is said to have passed the night *ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, where also Whitby and other commentators take *προσευχὴ* for a house of prayer. As to the use of the present in 'quaero,' Madvig says in his 'Opuscula:' "The Latins almost always use the present indicative when they are asking about a thing which they do not doubt that they will do, or are asking the opinion of another in such a way that they are not so much deliberating as expressing a necessary judgment, or are asking others what opinion they wish them to hold."

298. *vadimonia deinde*] After frightening the poor man out of his senses, they affect to be the injured parties, and declare they will have the law of him. The state of the streets at night, even during the time of Augustus, was very disgraceful. Tacitus describes it in the time of Nero, who himself set the example of night-brawling, which was followed by many under the shelter of his name. The same tricks were practised by Otho and other emperors.

305. *subitus grassator agit rem,*] 'Grassator' means 'a highway-robber;' and it appears from this place that the Pomptine Marshes and the forest of Gallinaria were infested by banditti. Augustus took great pains to put them down, and so did Tiberius; and it would seem from Juvenal's words that their plan of having military posts in the different places the robbers frequented was still pursued. Driven out from the above haunts, they took up their abode in the city, where they carried on their trade (which is the meaning of 'agit rem'), breaking into houses and murdering the inhabitants. 'Subitus' seems to mean that you start up from sleep, and find one of these men by your bed ready to cut your throat.

307. *Et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus:*] The Pomptinus Ager was a plain in Latium, about twenty-two miles in length, extending from Appii Forum to Terracina, and from eight to ten miles in depth on the west, separated from the sea by a low range of hills ending in the promontory of Circeii, and by a lower ridge from that place to Terracina. In the early period of Roman history it was fertile and populous; and when Appius made his road across it, about B.C. 310, the soil must have been firm. The character of the country must have changed at no great distance of time. The neglect of the middle ages made the marshes worse than they ever were in the Roman period. Various popes did something towards correcting the evil, the last of whom was Pius VI., whose works, begun in 1778 and continued over a space of sixteen years, are those to which the present drainage

is due. The plain is almost entirely uninhabited, but has good pasturage, and supports a large number of horned cattle. The Gallinaria Silva lay on the coast of Campania between the mouth of the Vulturnus and Liternum.

308. *Sic inde huc*] 'Sic' means 'as we see.' 'Vivaria' (παράδεισοι) are warrens or preserves of game. The robbers went to Rome as a gentleman goes to his preserves to shoot.

311. *marrae et sarcula*] 'Mattocks and hoes.' 'Marra' seems to have been an instrument like the 'sarculum,' but larger, and used for heavier work.

312. *Felices proavorum atavos,*] 'Proavus' was an ancestor in the third degree, a great-grandfather, and 'atavus' in the fifth, so that 'proavorum atavi' would be eight generations back.

314. *uno contentam carcere*] This was the Carcer Mamertinus, which was said to have been built by Ancus Martius, and enlarged by Servius Tullius, under the Capitoline Hill. Appius Claudius the decemvir built another just outside the city walls at the entrance of the ninth region. As Appius Claudius was put to death in his own prison B.C. 449, Juvenal's golden age lay a long way back. But he is speaking loosely. 'Sub regibus atque tribunis' means 'under the kings and the republic.' 'Tribuni plebis' existed under the empire, but their power, like that of all other magistrates of the republican period, was of no importance.

315. *His alias poteram*] There is some difference between 'poteram' and 'possem subnectere.' The latter would mean 'I could add if I had time;' 'poteram' means 'I had many other reasons to add (or, I had it in my power to add many other reasons), but I have not time.' Compare A. 60, 1, and 2, *c* and R.; H. 512, 2, 1; M. 348, *c* and obs.; A. & S. 259, R. 3 and (*b*); B. 1274.

318. *Innuit*] For the tense, consult M. 334, obs.; A. 58, 2, *a*; H. 467, 2; B. 1083.

319. *Roma tuo refici*] 'Reddet refici' is not a prose construction, which would be 'reddet reficiendum' or 'ut reficiaris.' Aquinum, which from this verse is generally called Juvenal's birthplace, still keeps its name (Aquino). It was situated on the Via Latina in Latium, not far from the borders of Campania. Part of the walls still remains, and ruins of various buildings; among them are three temples, which may or may not be those of Ceres and Diana here mentioned. From coins of Aquinum still existing, which bear the head of Minerva, it would seem that the town was under her protection. Why Ceres is called here Helvina or Elvina, which name she bears nowhere else, is quite uncertain.

321. *ni pudet illas,*] 'If they are not ashamed of me;' that is, if your satires will condescend to accept my help, I will put on my boots and come to you. The 'caligae' were thick hob-nailed shoes worn by soldiers. Here it appears the name was given to very thick shoes, such as a man would wear in the country.

SATIRE IV.

The point on which this Satire turns is the degradation of the senators, some of whom the poet mentions by name. The sketches of character are very good, and are evidently drawn from life. The poem must have been published after the death of Domitian which took place in the year 96, and after the publication of the first Satire which was as late as A.D. 100.

Argument. — Crispinus again — a rich man, but unhappy! He can lavish the price of an estate on a single fish; and if a parasite does this, what would you expect of the emperor (1–36)? In Domitian's reign, a huge turbot is taken off Ancona. Afraid of the informers, the fisherman hastens to present it to Caesar (37–64). He makes a flattering speech which pleases the emperor (65–71). But where find a platter large enough for the fish? A council of state must be summoned. The senators, men of all characters, and all sorts of fortune, come in haste (72–129). Montanus advises to make a new dish for the purpose. His views prevail, and the council is dismissed (130–149). This seems foolish enough; but it had been well for Rome, if, engrossed by such follies, Domitian had wanted time for the murder of her nobles, whom yet he might have destroyed with impunity, had he not alarmed the men of lower rank (150–154).

1. *Ecce iterum Crispinus,*] See i. 26, n. He says he must often call in this monster to play his part (ad partes sustinendas); the metaphor is taken from the stage. 'Redemptum' is 'redeemed from infamy,' as it were from slavery. The more usual expression is 'redimere vitia virtutibus.' 'Aeger' means that he was feeble, 'fortis,' resolute. 'Vidua' applies to women without husbands, whether they ever had one or not. For the use of 'tantum,' see note on i. 1.

5. *quantis jumenta fatiget Porticibus,*] The immediate neighborhood of the Forum was covered with houses and public buildings, but between Mons Capitolinus and the Campus Martius there was space for large gardens such as Agrippa had there. They must have been very costly in such a neighborhood, which is what Juvenal means. There were private as well as public covered walks and drives (porticus) about the city. 'Fatiget' is a poetical word in this connection.

9. *Incestus,*] 'Incestum' was what we understand it, intercourse whether with or without the pretence of marriage (which was no marriage) between those who were too near of kin to have 'connubium;' but it went beyond this, and being an act against religion, it embraced likewise intercourse with a vestal virgin. In such cases the

woman was buried and left to starve in a cell in the Campus Sceleratus in the Sixth Region of the city. The man was put to death by scourging. The future participle expresses merely the risk which the woman ran; it does not necessarily imply that she was punished. Domitian revived the law about vestals, but Juvenal says his favorite, Crispinus, could break it with impunity, and had lately done so, though the woman might undergo the usual punishment. 'Nuper,' however, does not limit the act to a very short time before, though it was probably not long. One of the first acts after a vestal was convicted was to strip her of her vitta, which all the virgins wore when on duty. 'Cum quo' is for the more common 'quocum' or 'quicum.' M. 172, II., obs.; Z. 324; A. & S. 241, R. 1.

12. *caderet sub judice morum.*] This the Scholiast explains rightly, 'damnaretur a censore.' The 'judex morum' was the censor, and here means Domitian, who took that office for his life. The proceeding that Juvenal is going to relate should have brought the man under the censor, as the corrector of extravagance, a part of his duty being to enforce such sumptuary laws as were in existence from time to time. After Augustus they fell into disuse. 'Feci' was the technical expression answering to our 'Guilty.' 'Videtur fecisse' was the formula of condemnation. On the form of the conditional sentence, consult A. 59, 3, *b*; H. 510; and compare Hadley's Greek Grammar, 746.

13. *Titio Seioque*] These names were commonly used in legal proceedings, and mean no persons in particular here. In English we say 'John Doe and Richard Roe.'

15. *persona*] In the law writers 'personae' signifies persons, that is, human beings as invested with a certain character by which they become objects of law, as opposed to things which are not persons, but either material things, as objects of property, or legal facts, as contracts and the like.

Mullum sex millibus emit,] A mullet or barbel of six pounds was unusually large. The price paid for this was equivalent to about $234. Juvenal admits this was probably a fabulous price; but Pliny tells of one that cost 8000 sesterces. 'Sane,' 'to be sure,' introduces an ironical excuse.

19. *Praecipuam in tabulis ceram*] This is equivalent to being declared the old man's heres. A will was usually contained in three tablets (prima, secunda, and ima cera or tabula), in the two first of which were entered the names of the heredes, and in the third those of the 'substituti,' who took in the event of any heres being disqualified, etc. As to 'orbi,' see above, iii. 129, n.

20. *Est ratio ulterior*] There is another way of accounting for it, or another excuse, supposing he sent it to some great lady who was fond of him, and who went about in her 'sella' with closed doors, but large windows that she could look out of and be seen through.

23. *Quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius.*] M. Fabius Apicius, whose name has been proverbial for good living from the time of Tiberius, when he lived, is here called 'miser et frugi' by way of comparison with Crispinus. After spending an enormous fortune — towards

$4,000,000 — on eating, drinking, and his lusts, he hanged himself, chagrined at having only $400,000 left.

24. *papyro.*] This corresponds with what he called him before, "pars Niliacae plebis — verna Canopi" (i. 26). Of the coarser kind of papyrus (called 'emporetica'), which was not used for writing, various articles were made.

Potuit fortasse minoris] The price of slaves varied of course very much. An inferior sort of slave, for such purposes as this, might commonly be bought for less than the fish. He adds, that in the provinces men can get a large estate for such a sum, and a larger in Apulia, which seems to imply that land in Apulia was cheaper than in the provinces; but then it must have been bad land, for some of the corn-land there would be valuable. The quantity of the first syllable in 'Apulia' is common.

28. *putamus*] See iii. 296, n. 'Glutisse' is an onomatopoetic word; 'glutton' is derived from it.

29. *Induperatorem,*] The preposition 'in' in 'impero' (the first meaning of which is 'to put upon,' 'to impose,' the thing imposed being expressed or understood) is represented in the earlier poets by the forms 'endo' and 'indu,' corresponding to the Greek ἔνδον. Other words that are found in Lucretius and others with the same form of the preposition are 'endopedire,' 'endogredi,' 'endoplorare,' 'endotueri.' 'Imperator' cannot be used in hexameter.

30. *de margine coenae,*] The principal dish, 'caput coenae,' which at large dinners was commonly a boar, was put in the middle of the table; 'de margine' corresponds to a 'side-dish.'

31. *scurra Palati,*] The palace which the successive emperors occupied was on the Palatine Hill. The ruins still remain. It was built by Augustus, and much enlarged by his successors. Domitian spent a great deal of money in decorating and enlarging it, but most of the ornaments with which he adorned it were removed by Trajan to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

32. *Jam princeps Equitum,*] This is a way of speaking; there was no officer who bore that title.

33. *fracta de merce siluros.*] Pliny mentions the 'silurus' as a fish of the Nile. 'Municipes' means that they were countrymen of Crispinus. 'Fracta de merce' may mean that the fish were part of a damaged lot. Heinrich says the true reading is 'farta,' and that he is referring to fish packed in casks. It may be so. The Scholiast says it means that the cask was broken that contained the fish. It might mean that the cask was broken open to sell the fish.

34. *Incipe, Calliope,*] He invokes the Epic Muse; but he says this is not matter for a song, that is, for fiction and ornament, but a grave matter of fact on which they should sit and deliberate. Juvenal claims credit for calling them 'puellae,' which word was only used for chaste young women, single or married.

37. *Quum jam semianimum*] The full name of Domitian was T. Flavius Domitianus Caesar Augustus. He was the third Flavius, the son of Vespasian, and the brother of Titus. The third word in this

verse must be read in four syllables by synizesis. M. 6, obs. 1; H. 669, II., 3; A. & S. 306, 1, (3).

38. *calvo serviret Roma Neroni,*] Juvenal calls Domitian a bald Nero, meaning that he was as bad as that tyrant. Suetonius relates that he was bald, round-bellied, and thin in the legs, though in his youth he was a good-looking man, except that he had clubbed feet; he was tall, with a modest countenance, high color, and large but rather dull eyes. He also says that he was sensitive about his baldness; but nevertheless he wrote a treatise on the preservation of the hair, addressed to a friend who was bald like himself.

39. *spatium admirabile rhombi,*] This is like the way of speaking below, 'Crispi jucunda senectus' (verse 81). The figure of syntax is hypallage. The 'rhombus' is usually supposed to have been a turbot; but it is uncertain. It was a flat fish. The finest were caught near Ravenna, on the Adriatic. With 'incidit' we must supply 'in sinus.'

40. *quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,*] Ancona was a flourishing town of Picenum on the coast of the Adriatic, and near the Cumerian promontory, the northern extremity of the curve which the coast makes here. It was founded by some refugees from Syracuse in the time of the elder Dionysius, about B.C. 380, for which reason Juvenal calls it Dorian. 'Sustinet,' 'holds up,' may mean that the temple was on a hill.

41. *Implevitque sinus:*] 'Sinus' are the folds of the net. 'Minor' agrees in gender with 'rhombi' instead of 'spatium.' A. 45, 7; H. 438, 6; B. 678. Juvenal goes on to say that the fish that was thus caught was not smaller than those which, after being frozen up in the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) all the winter, were sent down when the ice began to thaw, fat and lazy, through the Cimmerian Bosporus into the Euxine.

46. *Pontifici summo.*] The Pontifex Maximus was president of the college of pontiffs, and chief director and expounder of every thing connected with religion. The office was always borne by the emperors, from Augustus downwards, for about four centuries.

48. *Delatore*] There were informers all along the coast, who poked into the very weeds for something to tell about, and they would soon call the starved fisherman to account ('agerent cum remige nudo'), and would be ready to swear they knew the fish by sight, and that it had got away from the emperor's preserves (vivaria), and must be sent back to its old master. The 'delatores' were severely punished by Titus; but Domitian after a while encouraged them. 'Depastum' is the middle voice. The two men named in verse 53 were informers.

55. *Res fisci est*] 'Is the property of the fiscus.' 'Fiscus' signifies a basket, and came to mean such a basket as they carried money in, and then the emperor's treasury, as opposed to 'aerarium,' the treasury of the populus.

56. *Ne pereat.*] That is, for fear it should be seized and confiscated. Other explanations have been given.

57. *Autumno,*] Horace calls it "Auctumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus acerbae" (S. ii. 6, 19). 'Sperantibus' means wishing for the quartan, as that stage in a fever when it begins to amend.

60. *Utque lacus suberant,*] The Lacus Albanus, which still retains its name (Lago di Albano) under Mons Albanus in Latium, is about fourteen miles south-east of Rome. The site of Alba Longa was on the eastern shore of the lake, which was named after it. The town was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, according to Livy, 400 years after its foundation by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, who, according to tradition, transferred to Alba the government established by his father at Lavinium, and with it the fire of Vesta, imported from Troy. The use of 'quanquam' without a verb belongs to the silver age.

61. *Vestam colit Alba minorem,*] We are told that when Tullus Hostilius destroyed Alba, the Romans would have removed the sacred things from the temples to Rome, but were deterred by a great hailstorm, and accordingly they continued to observe the worship of the gods at Alba. Juvenal speaks of 'Vestam minorem' by comparison with her worship at Rome, which was instituted by Romulus or Numa.

64. *Patres.*] Domitian used to convene the senate at his Alban house. The emperor he calls Atrides, Agamemnon, and the fisherman a Picenian, the fish having been caught at Ancon in Picenum. For the use of 'majora,' see iii. 203, n.

66. *genialis agatur Iste dies:*] 'Let this day be devoted to your genius.'

67. *laxare saginis,*] I agree with Heinrich, who reads 'saginis' with nearly all the MSS., and explains 'laxare' to mean that he was to distend his belly with good things. 'Sagina' is used for any good dish.

69. *Ipse capi voluit.*] The man declares the fish wanted to be caught, to have the honor of being eaten by the emperor. What could be more glaring? But the great man believes it, and his feathers rise at the flattery.

71. *dis aequa potestas.*] Suetonius says that Domitian caused all letters to his procuratores to begin with "Dominus et Deus noster sic fieri jubet;" and that after he had established this practice he was always addressed so.

75. *Liburno*] The praeco who summoned the senate was a Liburnian slave. He cries out that the emperor has taken his seat, and Pegasus snatches up his 'abolla' and runs to attend the meeting. Pegasus was a jurist of eminence in this and the preceding reigns.

77. *attonitae positus modo villicus Urbi.*] The office of 'praefectus Urbi' under the emperors was different from that in the earlier days of the republic. It was instituted by Augustus for the purpose of maintaining order in the city, and grew to be the first magistracy in power and importance. It might be held for many years. 'Positus' is used for 'appointed,' as 'praepositus' usually is. 'Attonitae' means 'stupefied,' which expresses the state of the whole Roman world.

80. *inermi Justitia.*] He says though Pegasus was the best of his class, and a good jurist, he was lax in the punishment of offenders, which in such bad times was a great fault. The 'præfectus urbi' had

'jurisdictio,' and there was no appeal from him except to the emperor. 'Justitia' bears a sword in all representations of her, and sometimes a spear or a pair of scales. 'Quanquam' is again used here without a verb.

81. *Crispi jucunda senectus,*] 'Cheerful old Crispus.' Vibius Crispus was an orator often mentioned by Quintilian, who speaks of him in terms like Juvenal, as "vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis." He was worth nearly $8,000,000. On 'liceret,' see A. 59, 3, c; M. 347, obs. 2; A. & S. 261, R. 5. 'Vero' is the ablative of price or of cause. 'Quoque' here and in verse 115 seems to mean 'even.'

94. *Acilius*] This is the father of M'. Acilius Glabrio, who was consul with Trajan A.D. 91, and who was put to death by Domitian, Dion says, from jealousy of his prowess in killing a lion in his amphitheatre on the Mons Albanus. The consul is the 'juvenis' mentioned in the next verse. As to 'Domini,' see above, verse 71, n.

96. *sed olim*] 'Olim' means here 'for some time past.' It is a late use of the word. Cicero would have said 'jamdudum.'

98. *fraterculus esse Gigantis.*] The Gigantes were sons of Earth, γηγενεῖς. When a man's parents were unknown he was referred to the common mother; and, as Casaubon says, those who rose from obscurity to high place were called 'lumbrici,' 'worms,' and by the Greeks ἔντερα γῆς, 'entrails of the earth.'

101. *artes Patricias?*] The various arts to which the Patricians had recourse to save themselves. Glabrio's was that of degrading himself into a 'venator,' which Juvenal compares with the craftiness of L. Junius Brutus, who, Livy says, allowed himself to be supposed a fool, that he might the better watch for his opportunity of delivering his country. This trick might pass with Tarquinius Superbus, a king of the old days when they wore beards, but was not likely to impose upon modern tyrants. 'Barbato regi' is like Horace's 'intonsi Catonis' (C. ii. 15. 11). 'Enim' refers back to 'Profuit nihil.'

105. *Rubrius,*] Some take this person for Rubrius Gallus, who was sent by Nero against Galba and deserted him, and supposed that this was his 'ancient offence,' and that Nero is the satire-writer mentioned in the next line, because he wrote a poem on one Clodius Pollio, and another on Afranius Quintianus. 'Improbior,' Heinrich says, means 'more abusive.' It implies also that he had no shame.

107. *Montani quoque venter*] This is like 'Crispi senectus' above, verse 81. Curtius Montanus, a senator, is repeatedly mentioned by Tacitus. He was exiled by Nero on a charge of libelling him. He may be the man spoken of. As to Crispinus, see verse 1 of this Satire. He perfumed himself in the morning, a vulgar thing to do, and smelt as strong as two funerals. A corpse was commonly smeared with ointment; burning censers were carried in the procession, and perfumes of all sorts and flowers were thrown upon the funeral pile. The amomum, from which 'mummy' is sometimes erroneously said to be derived, was an Eastern shrub, and therefore by the Latin poets usually called 'Assyrium.'

110. *Pompeius*] This person is not known. He was a 'delator.'

112. *Fuscus,*] Cornelius Fuscus was employed by Vespasian in high commands, and by Domitian as 'praefectus' of the praetorian troops. He was sent by him on an expedition against the Daci, and was killed, together with the greater part of his army, by that people. Tacitus describes him (in A.D. 69) as 'vigens aetate, claris natalibus,' and as one who loved danger for its own sake. Juvenal says he thought of battles in his marble villa; retirement and the degrading life of a Roman senator of this day did not suit him, and he was glad, no doubt, to be employed on the rough service in which he lost his life.

113. *Veiento Catullo,*] Fabricius Veiento, whom he calls 'crafty,' is mentioned above, iii. 185. Pliny describes Catullus as blind and of a savage disposition. He had neither reverence, modesty, nor pity, and so Domitian used him, as a man uses arrows, to shoot at all the best of men.

116. *dirusque a ponte satelles,*] The man was one who should have been found begging on the Appia Via of the passengers in their carriages going down to Aricia, which was about sixteen miles from Rome and full of country houses. As the Appia Via approached Aricia, it went down into the Vallis Aricina, and the descent was called Clivus Aricinus. It appears that beggars were in the habit of posting themselves at the top of this hill. On the construction with 'Dignus,' see A. 65, 2, *f*; H. 501, III.; B. 1226.

119. *rhombum stupuit:*] See A. 52, 1, *a*; H. 371, 3, 1; B. 716.

121. *Sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat*] It appears that Cilician gladiators were common. 'Pegma,' which has its name from the Greek *πηγνύναι*, was used for different things made of wood, but in connection with the theatre. 'Pegmata' were great wooden structures which formed stages; and had two or more stories, which let up and down by machinery. Upon these gladiators fought, and other exhibitions took place. The 'velaria' were an awning drawn over the seats of the amphitheatre to keep out the sun and rain. By some ingenious contrivance, it appears, a boy was suddenly carried up to the awning from the 'pegma' for the amusement of the spectators; and this blind flatterer pretended to admire a thing he could not see, just as now he admires the fish, looking to the left where it was not.

127. *Excidet Arviragus:*] There is no British prince of this name on record contemporary with Domitian. The man is talking nonsense, and knows it. 'Aut' means 'or at least.'

129. *Fabricio*] This was Veiento's name. The Fabricia gens was plebeian, but an old family.

130. *Quidnam igitur censes?*] The question is put in the usual formula to the senate. On 'conciditur,' see once more iii. 296, n. "I suppose it must be cut up."

133. *Prometheus.*] He means a potter. 'Castra,' like 'praetorium,' may mean the palace.

136. *Vicit*] This is the usual word. His proposal was carried.

137. *noctesque Neronis*] Suetonius says of Nero (c. 27), "Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat; refotus saepius calidis piscinis, ac tempore aestivo nivatis." Like others, he was wont, it

seems, to relieve his stomach by emetics after a large meal, and then begin again, which is the meaning of 'alias fames,' a second and a third appetite. The roses alone for one of Nero's banquets cost $160,000.

141. *Rutupinove edita fundo*] Rutupiae is now Richborough near Sandwich, on the Kentish coast. At Richborough there is a strong Roman wall, which encloses three sides of a space of several acres. The foundation walls of an amphitheatre have also been discovered here.

147. *Tanquam de Cattis aliquid*] In A.D. 84 Domitian led an army against the Catti and other German nations without much success. But when he came back to Rome he celebrated a triumph and had himself called Germanicus. The territories of the Catti or Chatti lay north of the Main, west of the modern kingdom of Saxony, including the principalities of Saxe Coburg, Meiningen, and Gotha. The Sigambri, who were a people on the east side of the Rhine, north of the Ubii, were threatened by Caesar, and left their country for a time with all their goods. They afterwards, with other Germans, defeated, in B.C. 16, M. Lollius in Gallia; but they were subsequently completely subdued by Tiberius, the step-son of Augustus.

149. *venisset epistola penna.*] The Scholiast has the following note: "Antea si quid nuntiabant consules in Urbem per epistolas nuntiabant. Si victoriae nuntiabantur, laurus in epistola figebatur; si autem aliquid adversi, pinna figebatur." But it is doubtful if 'praecipiti penna' means more than 'with utmost despatch.'

153. *cerdonibus esse timendus*] What Juvenal means is, that he had murdered the noblest citizens with impunity; but when he began to practise upon the vulgar, they got rid of him. He was murdered A.D. 96 by certain conspirators whom he had resolved to put to death. He took away and married the wife of one Aelius Lamia, and then murdered the man himself. The Lamiae were an old plebeian family of the Aelia gens.

SATIRE V.

This satire professes to be addressed to one Trebius, the representative of a class of men, who, being poor and exquisitely servile, were willing to part with their independence and put up with all sorts of contemptuous treatment for the sake of a dinner at the tables of the rich. A specimen of such a dinner is given, at which Virro, the host, reserves for himself and his rich friends the best of every thing, meat and fruit and wine, and the parasites are sulkily served with the worst, by slaves too fine to make up to the guests for the master's neglect.

Juvenal's conclusion is, that they who will put up with such treatment deserve it; and the rich man is not much to blame if he despises those who are only drawn to his table by the nose, that is, by the savor of his kitchen.

The satire has its moral for modern society, in which, if the relation of host and guest is prevented by good breeding from taking the form here represented, eating and servility are scarcely less prominent features than they were at Rome in its worst days. If the rich look down upon the poor, it is usually because of the homage rank and riches meet with; and that this homage comes of selfishness none know better than those who receive it. The coveting of what is called good society is the vice of a rotten system; and the man who seeks company which does not want him has no reason to complain if his pride is galled and his expectations are disappointed. If there were no Trebiuses in the world there would be no Virros; so Juvenal thought; and he does well to lay the chief weight of his satire upon the parasite.

The parasite, or diner-out, of later times, had no resemblance to the client of the republic. He was no more than one of many in the train of a rich man, or of as many rich men as he could get attached to in that mean capacity. The old relation of 'patronus' and 'cliens,' so far as we can understand it, was simple and natural. The other was the mere refuge of poverty, preferring the bread of idleness and a false tongue to a life of honest labor and the rewards of an independent mind. The student will only be misled if, following some of the commentators, he looks upon the latter condition as but another phase of the former. The old institution died out with the republic to which it belonged; the modern practice was the fruit of human corruption, and has its analogies in all ages of society, such as is called civilized.

Argument.—Men of honor, Trebius, would choose beggary rather than such dependence as yours (1–11). For, first, when Virro invites you to his board, he thinks that he has repaid you for all your services (12–23). Then, at dinner, you are served with poor wine which incites you to quarrelling; he has the very best (24–37). Virro's cups are jewelled; you are hardly trusted with any thing but glass; and you do not even drink the same water (37–53). You are waited on by a Moorish runner; he, by a fair youth of Ionia (53–66). You must gnaw mouldy bread, and not presume to touch Virro's loaf. This is all your reward (67–79). Virro's fish are the choicest, yours the poorest (80–106). Virro's unsocial arrogance, too, is worthy of a passing rebuke (107–113). While dainties are carved for the host, you must look quietly on (114–131). You would be differently treated if you were wealthy and childless (132–145). The mushrooms and fruits offered to you differ from those which he has (146–155). He does all this on purpose to mortify you; and you deserve to be treated like a slave, for such you have made yourself (156–173).

1. *propositi*] He speaks as if this was the one purpose of his life.

2. *aliena vivere quadra;*] The Romans had loaves of bread marked

off into quarters like our hot cross-buns, each part of which was called 'quadra.' Scaliger takes 'quadra' here for bread; others render it 'a table.' The expression seems to be proverbial.

3. *quae nec Sarmentus iniquas*] 'Iniquas mensas,' 'unequal tables,' are those to which little men are invited by their betters, taking their chance of the fare they will get. The parasite Sarmentus mentioned by Horace in the account of his journey to Brundisium (S. i. 5) has been confounded with this man, who was a young favorite of Augustus at the time of the battle of Actium. Galba is called Aulus by Quintilian, who mentions several of his good sayings.

5. *Quamvis jurato*] This is a proverbial way of speaking common and obvious. 'Quamvis' means 'however.' For the use of the participle, see M. 110, obs. 3; B. 1345; A. & S. 162, 16.

6. *Ventre nihil novi frugalius.*] He says the belly is very frugal, it can do with very little; but even if enough be not forthcoming to fill an empty belly, he had better beg than get his meals in that dirty way. 'Crepido' is a wall, or a raised footpath by the road side, or the steps of a house or public building, where poor people lay and often passed the night, as they do now in Rome and Naples. As to 'pons,' see iv. 116. 'Teges' is a mat or rug. 'Dimidia brevior,' 'too short by half.'

9. *tantine injuria coenae?*] 'Is the insolence of a dinner worth so much?' 'Is it worth while to accept a dinner only to be insulted?' The genitive is epexegetical. M. 286; A. 50, 1, *f*; H. 396, v. In the next verse 'cum' is not elided. See M. 502, *b*, end; A. & S. 299, 3.

10. *illic*] On the 'crepido' or 'pons.' 'Tremere' is to shiver with cold, or to pretend to do so. 'Farris canini' is bread such as is thrown to the dogs; among the Greeks that which the guests had used to wipe their hands.

12. *Primo fige loco,*] 'Fige' is stronger than 'pone.' 'Set this down and don't forget it.' 'Discumbere' is a common word for reclining at meals. 'Solidus' is that which has no hollow or vacant space; 'merces solida' is a payment in full.

15. *Et quamvis rarum tamen*] The Latin writers used 'tamen' much as the Greeks used ὅμως. See Hadley's Greek Grammar, 874, *b*. 'Imputat' means 'charges to your account.' This sense of the word is post-classical.

16. *adhibere clientem,*] 'Adhibere,' 'to have in,' as we say, is the common word for invitations.

18. *Una simus,*] "Apud me sis volo" is a like phrase for an invitation to dinner in Terence. The great man pays off his obligations to the little man by inviting him to dinner when he has a spare place, to fill up the gap; and he gives him the lowest place on his own couch, 'imus lectus,' on which the master of the house usually lay, with members of his family, or, in their absence, with his parasites. 'Culcita' was the cushion on which the guest rested his elbow.

19. *Trebius*] That is, the parasite. 'Ligula' the Scholiast derives from 'ligo,' which would fix the meaning of the word. But Martial uses the form 'lingula;' and the word is probably a form of 'lingua,' and means a buckle or ornament worn on the calceus. The

man in his hurry leaves his buckles behind. Heinrich says 'dimittere' is to let the 'ligulae' hang loose, taking them for straps or thongs. 'Ne peregerit orbem' means 'lest they should have gone their round.'

22. *Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore*] The first expresses the early dawn, when the stars grow faint; the other is earlier, when the Bear is seen slowly wheeling his wagon, which is here only called 'sarraca,' 'plaustra' being the word generally used. 'Sarracum' seems to have been a kind of cart copied from the Gauls. 'Frigida' is explained by the position of the constellation; and 'pigri' Heinrich explains by Homer's ὀψὲ δύων. That and 'tarda' are common epithets for Ursa, and more probably are taken from its apparent motion round the pole. Boötes, the 'herdsman,' or 'team-driver,' otherwise called Arctophylax, 'the guard of the bear,' is the constellation near Ursa Major, the Great Bear, often called Charles's Wain, or the Wagon.

24. *Vinum quod sucida nolit*] 'Sucida lana' is wool lately cut, but not yet cleaned. Wool in this state was used, drenched with oil or wine or vinegar, as the case might be, for healing applications. Juvenal says the very wool would reject such wine. He says also the wine is so bad that it soon gets into the people's heads, and sets them quarrelling.

26. *Jurgia proludunt:*] 'Prolusio,' or 'praelusio,' was the word for the sham fight with which the gladiators began. 'Jurgia' is the accusative of kindred meaning. A. 52, 1, *b*; H. 371, 1, 3; B. 713. The parasite and the freedman, invited like himself to their patron's table, are supposed to fall out and throw the cups at one another. Earthenware was imported from Saguntum in Spain.

30. *Ipse capillato diffusum*] The great man himself drinks wine made centuries before, when men wore beards. As the Romans are said to have left off beards 300 years before Christ, there is exaggeration here. 'Diffusum' is the word for transferring from the 'dolium,' the large vessel in which the wine fermented, to the 'amphora' in which it was kept. The practice of marking on the amphora the name of the consuls in whose year it was filled is well known. The Social War was waged by the Italian allies against Rome B.C. 91–89.

32. *Cardiaco nunquam cyathum*] The 'cardiacus morbus' was an affection of the stomach attended with profuse perspiration, for which wine was considered essential; some administering it in the early stage of the disease, and others when the patient was recovering. This man would not send his friend a 'cyathus' (which was the twelfth part of a 'sextarius,' and a 'sextarius' was equal to a pint) of his old wine to save his life. 'Fuligine' may refer to the practice of storing wine where the smoke of the house could reach the jars.

36. *Thrasea Helvidiusque*] P. Thrasea Paetus was father-in-law to Helvidius Priscus, and both were celebrated for their independence in the senate during the reign of Nero, by whom Thrasea was put to death. Helvidius was killed by order of Vespasian five years after his father-in-law. They appear from this passage to have been in the habit of keeping the birthdays of the two Bruti (M. and D.) and Cassius, to show their hatred of tyrants; and the anecdotes told of

them by Tacitus and other writers are all to the same effect. They are here represented as drinking to their heroes' memory in the choicest wine, with crowns of flowers on their heads, which was from the earliest times the common practice at dinner, especially on important occasions.

38. *Heliadum crustas*] Ovid relates how the three daughters of the Sun, Phaëthusa, Lampetie, and Phoebe, wept for their brother Phaëton on the banks of the Eridanus, and were turned into poplars from which tears came forth and were hardened by the sun into amber, 'succinum' or 'electrum.' 'Crustae' were probably plates of thin metal, as the name implies, as distinguished from 'emblemata,' or figures laid on the vessel.

inaequales beryllo] The beryl is a species of emerald. 'Inaequales' means 'embossed.' 'Phiala' was the Greek name corresponding to the Latin 'patera,' a broad, flat cup for drinking or libation. Our word 'vial' is derived from it. Virro is the great man.

42. *iaspis.*] Jasper is a species of quartz varying through all colors, and opaque. 'Da veniam,' "you may excuse the master for watching his cups, for they have rare gems on them." The words 'da veniam —iaspis,' may be those of the servant to the guest, "Excuse me, but that cup has a fine stone on it," giving him a hint, as a saucy fellow might.

45. *juvenis praelatus Iarbae.*] That is, Aeneas, whom Dido preferred to the African prince Iarbas, and her other neighbors. 'Zelotypus' is the Greek word for 'jealous.' It appears only in the later Latin writers.

46. *Beneventani sutoris*] A shoemaker of Beneventum, by name Vatinius, rose by low means to high favor with Nero; and it appears that his name for some reason was given to a particular kind of cup (nasiterna), perhaps from its having one or more nozzles equal in length to his nose, which Martial says was a long one. 'Nasorum quatuor' is a genitive of quality.

50. *decocta*] Boiled water cooled down with snow.

52. *cursor Gaetulus*] He complains that the guest is served by a black outrunner, brought in to wait at table, while the master has a handsome slave to attend upon him.

57. *Tulli census pugnacis et Anci*] Horace speaks of "dives Tullus et Ancus." Nearly the whole reign of Tullus Hostilius was passed in wars with the Albans, Sabines, and other neighbors.

61. *miscere*] To mix the wine and water.

62. *Digna supercilio.*] They justify his pride, called 'supercilium' from the motion of the eyebrow by which it is expressed.

64. *Quippe indignatur*] 'Quippe' is formed from 'quia,' as 'nempe' from 'nam,' and both mean 'certainly,' 'of course,' 'you know,' but with a causal sense included. On the mode of 'poscas,' see references on iii. 3, 'destinet,' and add M. 397.

66. *Maxima quaeque domus*] In Horace's time two hundred slaves was an extravagant number for one house. Soon afterwards much larger numbers were kept.

68. *solidae jam*] 'Quite hard from staleness.' 'Jam' means that it has been left till it has got hard.

69. *Quae genuinum agitent*] 'To plague his grinders.' The subjunctive means that the bread was given for that purpose, as 'qui ponere cogat' below (73), 'to compel you to put it down.' A. 64, 1; H. 489, II.; B. 1212. 'Genuini dentes' are 'the wisdom-teeth' (σωφρονιστῆρες) or 'the grinders.'

70. *mollique siligine factus*] Pliny distinguishes 'siligo' from wheat (triticum) and barley (hordeum). It was a fine grain; and the bread made from it would be very different from the 'farina' which the black slave sulkily offers the guest.

72. *Salva sit artoptae reverentia.*] 'The respect for the bread-pan must be maintained.' 'Artopta' is the Greek ἀρτόπτης.

73. *Improbulum,*] This diminutive is found here only. The poor man is no better than a thief if he puts his hand into the wrong bread-basket. 'Superest illic,' 'there is one standing over you there' (as if the man were pointed out). On the form of the sentence see A. 60, 1, *b*; H. 535, 2; and compare i. 155.

74. *Vis tu consuetis*] The words are supposed to be those of the slave standing by telling the rash guest to be satisfied with his own sort of bread. The formula is one of bidding or exhortation, and equivalent to 'nonne vis.' 'Will you not fill your belly from your usual basket?' So the town mouse says to his friend, "Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?" (Horace, S. ii. 6. 92.)

77. *per montem adversum*] 'Up the hill,' that is, the Esquiline. It was an exposed part of the town, and therefore Juvenal calls it 'gelidus.'

81. *squilla,*] This is here a lobster. It is generally used for a prawn or shrimp. 'Asparagus' is commonly used in the plural.

84. *constrictus cammarus*] 'Cammarus' (κάμμαρος) was a crayfish or a crab of some sort. 'Constrictus,' I think, describes the pinched miserable appearance of the crab; half a hard egg was served with it. 'Feralis coena,' 'a funeral supper,' refers to the 'silicernium,' a dinner usually given after a funeral, and attended by the friends of the dead person. The fare was not very tempting.

86. *Ipse Venafrano*] 'Ipse' is the master throughout. Venafrum was particularly celebrated for its olives in Horace's days. The town was in Campania near the borders of Samnium.

88. *Laternam:*] So Horace's Natta robbed the lamps to oil himself when he bathed or took exercise. (S. i. 6. 123.) 'Laterna' is derived from the same root as λαμπτήρ; it is in some MSS. written 'lanterna.'

89. *Canna Micipsarum*] 'Canna' is a canoe of cane. The plural of Micipsa is used, as is very common where only one person is meant; compare i. 109. The only Micipsa on record is the son of Masinissa and father by adoption of Jugurtha. Numidian or African oil, Juvenal says, was so fetid that the natives had nothing to fear from snakes, who got out of their way to avoid the smell, and no Roman would bathe with them smeared with their own oil. There were two kings of Mauritania, father and son, called Bocchus, the Latin form of the native Bocchor or Bocchar. The elder was father-in-law and betrayer

of Jugurtha; the younger was the friend of C. Julius Caesar and Octavianus, and was the last king of Mauritania before that country became a Roman province. The name is here taken for any African.

93. *Tauromenitanae rupes,*] From this we may infer that the eastern coast of Sicily, on which Tauromenium was situated, abounded in fine barbels as well as the neighborhood of Corsica and other parts of the Mare Etruscum. As to the costliness of these fish, see iv. 15, n.

94. *nostrum mare,*] This term, which originally had probably a limited sense, ultimately signified all the Mediterranean. In this passage the context shows that it has a very limited sense. Notice the construction of 'dum' with the present tense, as in i. 60 and iii. 10, where see references.

95. *macello*] The 'macellum' was the general market-place, situated on the north side of the Via Sacra.

97. *provincia;*] The western part of Sicily was occupied by the Romans at the close of the first Punic war, and formed their first province. The whole island fell into the hands of the Romans in the second war, after the capture of Syracuse. Sardinia was taken from the Carthaginians, and became a province soon after the first Punic war, and Corsica was afterwards added to it.

98. *Quod captator emat*] "Fish for the fortune-hunter to buy, and his old lady to sell." These 'captatores,' or will-hunters, are the subject of Horace's fifth Satire, Lib. ii. Juvenal calls his 'captator' Laenas, which was a cognomen of the plebeian 'gens' Popilia. The rich lady he calls Aurelia, and represents her as selling as much of her presents as she did not want.

102. *temeraria lina*] That is, 'linorum magistri,' as he calls the fisherman above, iv. 45. The poor guest was put off with a frost-bitten, mangy fish, the home-born slave (vernula) of the river banks, fat with the filth of the sewers. 'Crypta' was used for any vault or closed passage. By 'crypta Suburrae' Juvenal means a large branch of the Cloaca Maxima; it was reopened in 1743. To penetrate so far, the fish must swim nearly a mile through all the filth of the town.

107. *Ipsi pauca velim,*] These verses to 113 are parenthetical, for he returns to the dinner in 114. He goes on to say to the master that no one expects from him the liberality of a Seneca, a Piso, or a Cotta, for in former times it was counted more noble to be generous than great; all that was wanted of him was to dine as a citizen, not as a king; and then he may give or not give, and do what he likes with his money. Both the Senecas, father and son, were rich; the younger, Nero's teacher, was unusually so. C. Piso is he who formed a conspiracy against Nero, for which he and Seneca lost their lives. Tacitus mentions one Aurelius Cotta who had been rich and had squandered his money, and got a pension from Nero. The commentators take this for Juvenal's man.

112. *face*] For this form, see M. 114, *c*, obs.; H. 237, 1.

115. *flavi dignus — Meleagri*] How Meleager, the son of Oeneus, king of Calydon, in Aetolia, slew the great boar which Artemis sent

to lay waste his native place, is told by Homer (Il. ix.). Virro's boar was a worthy companion for this monster. A boar served up whole was commonly the chief dish ('caput coenae'). The fattening of fowls (altiles) and the livers of geese was carried to perfection by these Romans. The geese were fattened on figs. In our day Strasbourg has been famous for its *pâtés de foies gras*, some of the livers weighing as much as three pounds. 'Altiles' were fattened on grain, which was sometimes steeped in wine.

116. *tradentur tubera,*] 'Tubera' were great delicacies with the Romans. Whether they were what we know as the 'tuber cibarium' or common truffle, has been doubted. They cannot have been very different. They were said to be produced by autumn rains and frequent thunder; so the author calls the latter 'optata.' From this notion the 'tuber' was called 'ceraunium.' The epicure Allidius is willing that Libya, the greatest granary of Rome, should give up sending corn and furnish only truffles. He is introduced in a parenthesis. On the subjunctive 'mittas,' consult A. 61, 3; H. 503, I.; M. 351, *b*, obs. 2.

120. *Structorem*] This is the title of the man whose business it was to arrange (struere) the table. It is also used for the person who carved the meat, otherwise called 'scissor' or 'carptor.' The latter is here meant. It appears that great men in this department carved with various fantastic movements of the arms and legs, flourishing their knife about, as here described. These persons were trained under regular professors. 'Chironomunta' is the Greek participle of *χειρονομέω*, to throw the arms in time. 'Dictata' are the lessons, and 'dictare' is to teach; because it was usual for the master to read aloud to his scholars that which they had to learn and repeat.

122. *peragat*] For the subjunctive, see A. 62, 2, *d*; H. 522, II.; A. & S. 263, 4, (1).

125. *ictus ab Hercule Cacus,*] Cacus was a monstrous son of Vulcan, who stole Hercules's cows, and was beaten to death by him with stones and trunks of trees, and dragged out of his cave by the heels when dead.

127. *Hiscere, tanquam habeas*] 'If you ever attempt to open your mouth, as if you were a man of family and had three names.' Roman citizens had generally three names: 'praenomen,' which was given on the ninth day after their birth; 'gentilicium nomen,' which indicated the Gens to which they belonged; and 'cognomen,' which was the family name belonging to their branch of the Gens. To these was sometimes added an honorary name, called 'agnomen,' derived from some great action, or other cause, as 'Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus.' A slave had only one name, and a freedman took usually the 'praenomen' and 'nomen gentilicium' of his late master, but not his 'cognomen,' instead of which he sometimes retained his own name which he had as a slave. On 'habeas,' see A. 61, and R.; M. 349 and obs.; Z. 572.

Quando propinat] The practice of drinking healths was as common with the Romans as with modern nations. 'Bene te,' or 'bene tibi,' was the formula, as in Plautus: "Bene vos! bene nos! bene te!

bene me! bene nostrum etiam Stephanium!" "Bene mihi! bene vobis! bene meae amicae! bene omnibus nobis!" It was a complimentary way of doing this to drink and pass the cup on to the person so saluted, with the word 'bibe!' From this practice 'propinare' and προπίνειν are derived.

131. *pertusa dicere laena.*] As to 'laena,' see iii. 283, n. 'Pertusa' is one with holes in it.

132. *Quadringenta*] 'Millia sestertium' is understood. 400,000 sesterces was the fortune necessary for an 'eques,' by Otho's law; see iii. 155. From here to 145 is a digression. The dinner is resumed in 146.

133. *donaret homuncio,*] 'Homuncio' is meant by way of amusing contrast to 'deus,' in the line before. Some good little man, like to the gods (θεοείκελος), and kinder than the fates.

135. *Da Trebio!*] The master bids the good things be given to his rich guest, and calls him brother, and asks him if he would not like a nice slice off the loin of the boar. The name Trebius is repeated from verse 19.

139. *Luserit Aeneas,*] These are Dido's words (Aen. iv. 328): "Si quis mihi parvulus aula Luderet Aeneas qui te tamen ore referret."

140. *sterilis facit uxor*] A barren wife makes a man's friend pleasant and affectionate; but even if after being childless, he has now, all at once, three children, still the friend will not give him up, but will fondle his babies, and see what he can do that way. The man being rich is still worth looking after. 'Migale' is a contemptuous word, but it is his wife.

143. *viridem thoraca*] A green doublet, a pretty little shirt to please the child and keep it warm.

145. *parasitus venerit infans.*] A parasite is a guest out of his place, and a child at the dinner table may well be so called.

146. *Vilibus ancipites*] 'Vilibus amicis,' poor friends, friends who are worth nothing. We say men are worth what they have. These Romans seem to have had the same standard of worth.

147. *Boletus domino;*] The 'boletus' with which the Emperor Claudius was poisoned by his wife Agrippina (A.D. 54) became a proverb. Her object was to secure the succession to her own son Nero, instead of Britannicus, the son of Claudius.

150. *Poma*] The fruit was the last thing served at dinner.

151. *Phaeacum autumnus habebat,*] The Phaeacians, whose king, Alcinous, received Ulysses hospitably (Hom. Od. vii.), were identified by the later Greeks and by the Romans with the people of Corcyra. Homer gives a rich description of Alcinous's garden.

152. *sororibus Afris:*] These are the Hesperides, the sisters who had charge of the golden apples, which were the marriage gift of Earth to Zeus and Hera, and which Hercules was sent to steal. Their garden was placed by the ancient poets in various parts of Africa.

153. *quod in aggere rodit,*] There are different interpretations of this passage. One supposes Juvenal to mean an ape dressed up and taught by some idle soldiers to throw darts from the back of a goat. The others apply to recruits learning their drill from a drill-master

(campidoctor), called 'capella,' by way of ridicule. The first of these two is the sense of the passage, I believe, and so most of the commentators take it. 'Aggere' is the rampart of Servius Tullius in the Esquiliae, the eastern quarter of the city. The Praetorian troops were quartered by this 'agger.' On 'flagelli,' see M. 289; A. 50, 3, *b*, 3; H. 399, 2, 1; B. 768.

157. *Hoc agit ut doleas:*] 'He is bent upon giving you pain.' 'Hoc agit' has this meaning commonly. The rich man treats his poor guest in this scurvy fashion, not to spare expense, but to enjoy the fun of seeing him grinding his teeth and weeping with vexation. And he has some right on his side, for he knows the man only comes to his table for what he can get. For the neglect of elision in verse 158, see on iii. 70.

164. *Etruscum puero si contigit aurum*] This is the 'bulla,' a small circular plate of gold which children born free (ingenui) and rich wore suspended from their necks. This practice appears to have been of Etruscan origin. A leather strap with a knot at the end of it answered the same purpose with the poor. It was 'signum libertatis,' as the Scholiast says. The figure of rhetoric in verse 165 is hendiadys.

166. *Ecce dabit jam*] "See he is going to give us presently——." The guests are supposed to speak, expecting something, though not of the best, to come to them. And therefore (inde) they sit in silent suspense, with their bread prepared, uneaten and grasped in their hand, ready to eat it with the first windfall that comes. 'Minor altilis' is one too small for the master. 'Stringere' is to grasp. Mayor thinks that it means to draw like a sword.

171. *Pulsandum vertice raso*] Parasites, and others equally low, were sometimes introduced in mimes with their heads shaven, and were slapped and knocked about. This fellow, Juvenal says, will some day or other (quandoque) come to this. The last few verses of this Satire are a good specimen of contemptuous writing well deserved.

SATIRE VII.

THE subject of this satire is the neglect of literary men by the rich. The 'Caesar' who is described as the only patron of scholars is probably Hadrian, who was well known as a poet and a friend of poets. The date of the publication of the poem may be placed, therefore, about A.D. 120; part of it may have been written earlier.

ARGUMENT. — Caesar is now the only patron of men of letters; all others have neglected them, and driven them to the humblest pursuits (1–16). For though they may applaud genius, they leave it to starve, so that it would do well to renounce the muse (17–35). The rich man,

who calls himself a brother poet, will but lend you a dusty room and freedmen to applaud (36–47). This neglect does not cure the poetic frenzy; yet, to do well, the poet should be relieved from vulgar anxieties (48–73). In fact, however, he is not cared for as well as a harlequin or a wild beast (73–97). The historian's recompense is even less than the poet's (98–104). This is not because poets and historians are of no use to the world; for pleaders, too, are poorly paid, unless they make a ruinous display of wealth (105–149). The rhetorician has a still harder fate. He is tired to death by his scholars' recitations, and then he has to go to the courts to get his scanty dues (150–177). Men lavish money on their houses and their cooks; but have nothing to spare for Quintilian. He, to be sure, is rich; but that is his luck; most of his class are in quite different circumstances (178–214). Most of all is the grammarian to be pitied. Ill paid, or not paid at all, he is required to possess universal knowledge and a spotless character, and is held responsible for every act and every look of each of his pupils (215–243).

1. *Et spes et ratio*] 'Ratio' means 'motive.' For 'tantum,' see on i. 1. As to 'Camenas,' see iii. 16. The Scholiast says they were sad, 'tacentibus poetis,' because the poets were silent. Autumnus says, 'quia contemnuntur.' It comes to the same thing. 'Quum jam' means while they were and long had been trying the lowest means of getting a livelihood, hiring a shabby bath at small country towns, or a bakery at Rome, or acting as criers at auctions.

4. *Balneolum Gabiis,*] Gabii has been mentioned in iii. 192. 'Furni' were baking-houses where poor people got their bread baked. 'Quum' corresponds to our 'while.' M. 358, obs. 3; A. 62, 2, *e* and note.

6. *Praecones fieri;*] The business of the auctioneer's 'praeco' was among other things to get persons to attend. But there were various sorts. The profession was in general much despised.

desertis Aganippes Vallibus] On the eastern ascent of Mount Helicon in Boeotia was the fountain Aganippe. The valleys on that side of the range were fruitful and woody. The waters of this fountain, like that of Hippocrene considerably higher up, were supposed to inspire those who drank them. The grove of the Muses (Pieria umbra) lay between these two fountains.

7. *migraret in atria Clio.*] The atria here meant are not the antechambers of the rich, but the courts in which auctions were held.

8. *Nam si Pieria*] He has just been speaking of the Muses in connection with Helicon and Boeotia. Here he calls the grove Pieria, using the conventional name of the Muses, though the Pieria of historical times lay north of Olympus.

9. *ames nomen victumque Machaerae,*] 'Amare' is used like the Greek *στέργειν, ἀγαπᾶν,* 'to be content with.' 'Machaera' is the name of an auctioneer or crier.

10. *commissa quod auctio*] 'Commissa auctio' is a sale 'bonorum commissorum,' of forfeited goods. 'Stantibus' are the bidders. 'Oenophorum' is a wine-jar. 'Tripodes' are old-fashioned tables. The finest tables of the Romans (orbes, see i. 137) rested on a single pillar.

'Armaria' were cupboards or cases, usually for books, standing against the walls, as opposed to 'capsae' and 'scrinia,' which were boxes also used for books. 'Cista' was any box, large or small. It was sometimes big enough to hold a man, though he had to squeeze to get into it.

12. *Alcithoen Pacci,*] Alcithoe was the Boeotian woman, daughter of Minyas of Orchomenus, who refused to celebrate the rites of Dionysus, and was changed by him into a bat, together with her sister Leuconoe. The writer refers, no doubt, to tragedies by living writers, whether Paccius and Faustus were their real names or not. Thebes under a hundred forms gave subjects for the stage; and there are fragments of a play by Sophocles founded upon the story of Tereus and the two sisters Procne and Philomela.

14. *faciant equites Asiani,*] Knights from (proconsular) Asia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Galatia (altera Gallia), are slaves who have made equestrian fortunes. Galatia, or Gallograecia, got its name from the Galli, who in the year B.C. 278 came over from Byzantium to help Nicomedes I. to get the kingdom of Bithynia. He gave them the neighboring country, which was called after them. 'Nudo talo' may be compared with 'pedibus albis' (i. 111), though I am not sure that the usual interpretation there is right. 'Traducit' means 'puts forward to view.' The first syllable of 'Bithyni' is elsewhere long.

17. *Nemo tamen studiis*] He says no poet henceforth need follow any unbecoming business. He describes the poet as one who joins the eloquence of words with the harmonies of music, and has eaten the bay, that is, the 'laurea Apollinaris.'

20. *Hoc agite,*] This is a formula which occurs in Horace (Epp. i. 6. 30): "Set about it; lose no time." Juvenal calls Domitian 'Dux magnus' above, iv. 145; and he uses the word as equivalent to 'imperator,' though in the field it was different, as a 'dux' had not the 'imperium' or 'auspicium.'

25. *dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,*] He bids a man, if he depends on any patron but Caesar, put his poems in the fire, or, as he says, give them to Vulcan, who was the husband of Venus.

29. *Ut dignus venias*] That you may come forth worthy of the ivy crown and a poor lean bust, such as a half-starved poet's would be. Busts of distinguished literary men were put up in the library of Apollo on the Palatine, and in other public as well as private libraries.

31. *Tantum . . . laudare disertos,*] 'Disertos' here means poets, who are also called 'docti.' 'Disertus' properly applies to oratory. Peacocks were held sacred to Juno.

32. *Sed defluit aetas*] When old age comes on with weariness and poverty, it hates itself and its own muse; and it is too late to betake yourself to trade, to war, or to farming.

36. *Accipe nunc artes*] He goes on to show how the patron compromises with the poet by giving help that costs nothing. There was a temple called Herculis Musarum, built by Fulvius Nobilior, and restored by Marcius Philippus, step-father of Augustus, after whom it was called Porticus Philippi. The temple of Apollo to which Juvenal refers is that on the Palatine, built by Augustus, 26th October, B.C. 28, to commemorate his victory at Actium. The poets recited their

compositions in the porticos attached to the temples. Juvenal says these misguided poets left the usual places of recitation to accept from a shabby patron a dirty room and a packed audience.

38. *Ipse facit versus*] This scurvy patron himself affects to be a poet inferior to Homer only for the reverence due to his antiquity; and, to show that he has a poet's sympathies, he lends his poor brother a dirty room, which had long been locked up as fast as the gates of a town when the enemy is coming. He also gives him a few of his dependents to sit at the end of the room and in different parts to applaud him; but he leaves him to go to the expense of hiring his own benches and of the porterage. 'Recites' is used intransitively. For the form, see A. 59, 5, *a*; M. 370; A. & S. 261, R. 2. The same construction occurs in verse 50.

41. *Haec longe ferrata*] The interpreters properly explain 'longe' as 'diu.'

46. *pendent anabathra tigillo*,] The room is supposed to be arranged like a theatre, with 'subsellia,' which are benches placed about the room on the floor; 'anabathra,' or benches rising one above the other at the sides of the room; and an orchestra, reserved seats near the speaker. The orchestra in a Greek theatre was the circular space in front of the stage occupied by the chorus. In Roman theatres, which nearly resembled the Greek, the orchestra was given up to the accommodation of senators and magistrates and other persons of distinction. Here the reciter put chairs for his more important auditors. 'Conducto anabathra tigillo' is equivalent to 'conducta anabathra tigillaria,' hired seats of plank. 'Posita est,' the orchestra is set out with chairs.

48. *Nos tamen hoc agimus*,] See above, verse 20. What follows are proverbs for labor thrown away.

52. *Scribendi cacoëthes*] 'Cacoethes,' which properly means no more than a bad habit, was applied medically to inveterate ulcers and cancers.

53. *publica vena*,] 'Publica' is, like κοινή, that which belongs to all, commonplace; 'expositum' means such as you would meet with in the highway, and so is 'triviale.' In 'vena' the metaphor is taken from mines. 'Deducere' is commonly applied to verse-making, and is probably taken from spinning. The works of the brain are commonly in most languages described as the coinage of a mint; and Juvenal speaks of the man whose ideas are not coined at the common mint, in which all manner of base metal is struck, and then passes current among the ignorant. The temple of Juno Moneta (from moneo, corresponding to Μνημοσύνη) was the Roman mint. Both 'money' and 'mint' are derived from the word.

56. *sentio tantum*] He says he cannot point out such a person; he can only imagine, or, as he says better, feel him. 'Impatiens acerbi' expresses ἄγευστος πικροῦ, not impatient, but free from the suffering of bitterness, which is that of poverty, disappointment, mortification, and self-contempt. The Muses had their name Aonides from Boeotia, anciently called Aonia. Bacchus and the Muses are always close companions, and so he says 'thyrsum contingere.'

62. *satur est quum dicit Horatius, Euoe!*] The reference is to Hor. C. ii. 19. 7. There is no doubt that Horace wrote all his odes after he had got a competence; and if his poverty made him write in the first instance, what he wrote then was of a different character.

64. *dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque*] Cirrha was situated at the head of the bay called Sinus Crissaeus, in the Corinthian Gulf. On the high ground above it was the more ancient city of Crissa, of which it was the port. Crissa was the original seat of the worship of Apollo, afterwards transferred to Delphi in its neighborhood; and in this way Cirrha came to be associated with Apollo, who is the 'dominus Cirrhae' here referred to. Nysa is a name given to several places where Bacchus was worshipped, having originally belonged to that (wherever it was) which reared him as a child. The locality of the original Nysa is generally placed by the poets in the Punjaub. 'Feruntur,' 'are carried away, borne headlong;' the word is used for madness or (as here) inspiration or other strong excitement. 'Dominis' seems best taken as an ablative of means or instrumental case, as in i. 13.

66. *lodice paranda Attonitae*] 'Lodix' is a blanket or other bed-covering. 'Attonitae' is used for 'perplexed.' It is equivalent to ἐμβρόντητος, and represents one inspired. 'Aspicere' is in apposition with 'opus.'

68. *Rutulum confundat Erinnys.*] This is Alecto, whom Juno moved to inflame Turnus with jealousy when Latinus gave his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas. See Virg. Aen. vii. 420, sqq. In vii. 450 he says, "geminos erexit crinibus angues Verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore;" and elsewhere from the top of a rock she sounds a blast upon her horn at which the forests and rivers are startled, mothers press their babes to their bosom, and all the country people are roused to arms. All this roaring and snake-lifting the poet would not have been able to invent if he had not been in easy circumstances, if he had not had a slave or two and a pretty good house. Virgil had a good deal more than this.

69. *tolerabile deesset*] The verb must be pronounced in two syllables, by synizesis. For the tense, see M. 347, *b*, obs. 2; A. 59, 3, *c*; A. & S. 261, R. 5.

71. *Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.*] 'Surdus' is used for one dumb as well as deaf. The 'buccina' or 'bucina' was the oldest wind instrument, and was a ruder sort of 'cornu.'

72. *Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,*] This is some small play-writer of the day. He says we expect such a man as this, who is obliged to pawn his dishes and his cloak while he is employed upon his play, to rise to the dignity of the old tragedy.

79. *jaceat Lucanus in hortis*] The poet M. Annaeus Lucanus inherited a large fortune from his father, the brother of Seneca, who was a native of Corduba in Hispania, and collector of the imperial revenues. He is said to have died at the age of 26, A.D. 65, in consequence of having taken part in Piso's conspiracy against Nero. To avoid the executioner he opened his own veins. He was therefore dead when this satire was written. We know nothing of Serranus. Saleius is mentioned by Tacitus as an unsuccessful writer.

83. *laetam fecit quum Statius Urbem*] The poet P. Papinius Statius was the son of a school-master at Neapolis. He was patronized by Domitian, whom he flattered in the usual way. His poem called Thebais, relating entirely to the expedition against Thebes, which Aeschylus has made the subject of a tragedy, occupied him twelve years, a year for each book. It was finished some time between A.D. 87 and 90, and therefore was begun before Domitian became emperor, A.D. 81. During the time it was composing he recited parts of it, and at that time he seems to have been poor. Whether he afterwards profited by the patronage of the emperor or not is unknown. By Juvenal's description his poem seems to have been highly thought of, and his manner of reciting it was attractive.

86. *fregit subsellia*] Probably by his energy in reciting his poem. Some say, by the loud applause of his hearers; others, by overcrowding the seats.

87. *intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.*] 'Unless he sells his virgin Agave to Paris.' 'Intactam' has the same sense as 'integram.' Whether this means that other poets had not handled the subject, or that the play had not yet been in the actors' hands, and was unpublished, may be doubtful. Agave is the furious mother who tore her son Pentheus to pieces at the revels of Dionysus, as represented in Euripides's play, the Bacchae. Paris may have bought the play out of charity to the writer. He was an Egyptian pantomime, and very popular under Domitian. For 'vendat,' consult M. 350, *b*, obs. 2; H. 511, II.; A. 59, 4, *b*.

88. *Ille et militiae*] He goes on to say, that Paris used his influence with Domitian to get advancement for the poets. It appears to me to be kindly said and kindly meant towards Paris, whose conduct is contrasted with that of the 'proceres.' The military offices Juvenal says he got conferred upon poets were those of 'praefecti' and 'tribuni militares.' There was a distinction of tribunes, some being called Laticlavii and others Angusticlavii; those being of the senatorial order, these of the equestrian. Both classes were much sought, and in order to gratify more applicants the office was made half-yearly (semestri). The golden ring was a badge of the 'equites.' This passage is associated with the principal event recorded of Juvenal's life, and the reader is referred to the memoir at the beginning of the volume.

90. *tu Camerinos Et Bareas,*] Camerinus was the name of a branch of the patrician gens Sulpicia. It was much distinguished in the time of the republic. One of the Bareae has been mentioned before (iii. 116).

92. *Praefectos Pelopea facit,*] He says plays make praefects and tribunes, as explained above. 'Pelopea' may be any subject connected with the house of Pelops. 'Pulpitum' corresponded to that part of the stage which the Greeks called λογεῖον, where the actors spoke.

94. *aut Proculeius Aut Fabius?*] The first of these was the person whose liberality to his brethren or relations is mentioned by Horace (C. ii. 2. 5). He was connected by marriage and contemporary with

Maecenas, whom he imitated in his patronage of men of letters. The Fabius here more particularly alluded to, the commentators generally suppose to be Fabius Maximus. Cotta was a cognomen of the Aurelia gens, into which was adopted Messallinus, a son of the celebrated orator Messalla Corvinus, frequently mentioned by Horace. By Lentulus Juvenal is generally supposed to mean P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who was consul B.C. 57, and the author of Cicero's recall from banishment in that year.

97. *vinum toto nescire Decembri.*] He says in those days it was of some use to study, and give up the enjoyments of the Saturnalia, which took place in December. The whole month of December was sacred to Saturnus, and it was a month of feasting, the Saturnalia and its attendant festivals occupying seven days.

98. *Vester porro labor*] 'Porro' means 'in the next place,' 'to proceed.' It is derived from 'pro.' 'Pagina,' from which our word 'page' is derived, was a sheet of the papyrus as prepared for writing on; several layers of the rind of the plant (liber) were pressed upon one another, and from this the name is derived; it contains the root 'pag-' of 'pango,' to fasten. One sheet was tacked on to the end of another, and so the roll was made as long as they pleased. 'Damnosa' means 'costly.' The cost of the paper alone is such that they ought to be well paid. 'Operum lex' is the conditions to which they are bound by the nature of their works.

103. *terrae quis fructus apertae?*] When the soil is thus ploughed and sown, what fruit does it bear? what does the man get for his pains? The 'acta' were daily chronicles of matters of public interest, judicial decisions, births, marriages, etc. People would rather hear the events of the day than read the events of former days.

105. *Sed genus ignavum*] But, say the world, they are an idle set, who care only to lie in bed and live in the shade, that is, in retirement. 'At,' not 'sed,' is the particle generally used to introduce an objection.

106. *Dic igitur quid causidicis*] 'Igitur' means if they say this of the historians they cannot say it of the lawyers. How then are they paid for their services (officia)? See A. 43, 3, *e*. 'Libelli' are documents in the case, which the lawyer takes with him in a great bundle into court.

108. *Ipsi magna sonant,*] They talk very big of their own accord (ipsi), but still more if the creditor is listening for whom they are acting; or louder still if the client is eager and nudges his 'causidicus,' being afraid of losing his money. 'Dubium nomen' is a doubtful debt. 'Codex' (or 'caudex') is properly something of wood, and was first applied to wooden tablets, but afterwards was used for any written document or book, and particularly for bankers' books.

111. *spirant mendacia folles*] The bellows are his cheeks. 'Conspuitur' means that he splutters his froth all over the folds of his 'toga.'

112. *Veram deprendere messem*] If you want to know the real amount of his harvest, put on one side the fortunes of a hundred lawyers, and on the other that of Lacerna, who was a driver in the Circus, and

they may be equal. The drivers were divided into four parties, called 'factiones,' and distinguished by the color of their dress; there was the white (alba), red (russata), dark green (prasina), and light green (veneta).

115. *Consedere Duces:*] What follows is a parody of the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for Achilles's armor in Ovid.

116. *bubulco Judice.*] He means that ignorant rude people were likely to be among the 'judices.' They were chosen from among the senators and 'equites,' both of which orders included during the empire persons of low birth. The 'causidicus' is supposed to be defending one whose freedom is at stake, who is claimed as a slave.

118. *scalarum gloria palmae.*] Lawyers used to hang palm-branches over their doors when they gained an important cause. Juvenal means by 'scalarum' that the man lived upstairs in a 'coenaculum,' a poor man's lodging.

119. *Quod vocis pretium?*] He asks what the man is to get for the use of his lungs. The allowance of grain or other food to slaves was served to them sometimes daily and sometimes monthly; in the former case it was called 'diaria,' and in the latter 'menstrua,' or, after the Greek, 'epimenia.' The wine of the north, which he means by 'vinum Tiberi devectum,' was not good. The 'lagena' was the same as the 'testa,' 'cadus,' 'amphora.'

122. *Si contigit aureus unus,*] An 'aureus' of this time was of the value of 25 denarii, about four dollars. In B.C. 204 a 'plebiscitum' was passed, prohibiting any person from taking a fee for pleading a cause. This was called Cincia lex, after M. Cincius Alimentus, who was 'tribunus plebis' that year. This was confirmed by a 'senatusconsultum' in the time of Augustus; but was relaxed in that of Claudius, after which time a man might take 10 sestertia for a fee, which would be nearly $400. 'Pragmatici' were persons who helped the advocates with legal information in court and who came in for a share of their fees. The name was taken from the Greeks, who employed that sort of practitioner.

124. *Aemilio dabitur quantum libet,*] He calls the man Aemilius because the Aemilia was one of the oldest of the patrician families. 'Et melius' is 'and yet we conduct our cases better than he does.' He puts himself in the place of one of these 'causidici.' The use of 'et' is like that of *καὶ* for *καίτοι*.

125. *stat currus aeneus,*] This man had a triumphal chariot in his house, which had been handed down from one of his great ancestors, and an equestrian statue of himself as a stout soldier with a lance in his hand. 'Lusca' seems to mean here no more than blind. It is usually 'one-eyed,' and some explain it as if one of the statue's eyes were shut in the act of taking aim. 'Hastile minatur' is 'he poises his lance threateningly.' 'Minari' is not used elsewhere exactly in this way. The lance bends as a long weapon with a light shaft would.

129. *Sic Pedo conturbat,*] In this way, Pedo and these other 'causidici,' men of low birth and no means, thought to get fees by pretending to be somebody, and the consequence was they became bankrupt.

'Conturbare' is an elliptical expression, 'rationes' being understood. It implies a fraudulent bankruptcy, a confusing of accounts. 'Deficere' is to 'fail,' as we say. 'Rhinocerote' means a horn vessel of oil. This man, to show his consequence, goes to bathe with a crowd of clients, and goes through the forum in his 'lectica' with a long pole, making fine purchases. The bearers are Easterns, all of whom the Romans called Parthians or Medes. 'Murrina' seems to have been a kind of agate or fluor-spar (though some say porcelain), very beautiful and very expensive. Nero paid $39,000 for a small cup made of it.

134. *Spondet enim Tyrio*] The man's purple cloak gets him credit. The meaning of 'stlataria' is very doubtful. 'Stlata' is said to be a small piratical craft, and from that Forcellini explains 'stlataria' as foreign, brought over the sea in ships.

136. *amethystina:*] These are other cloaks of violet color. 'Vendit' means 'gets him his price,' 'finds a market for him.'

138. *Sed finem impensae*] 'At Rome there is no limit to expense.' For 'dederit,' 'fulserit,' see A. 59, 4, *c* and R.; H. 509 and 486, 7.

141. *an tibi servi Octo,*] These 'servi' are connected with 'sella,' as 'comites' belong to 'togati.' So I believe doctors who keep their carriage are counted cleverer than those who do not, and they who drive two horses better than those who drive one. 'An,' 'an' introduce two separate questions. See below on verse 162.

143. *Paullus agebat Sardonyche,*] He hired a valuable ring to plead in, to get himself the reputation of being rich. Mothers, wives, sisters, and children used to be brought forward as a means of softening the hearts of the 'judices.' But Basilus never had a case of such importance as to warrant this. The custom was common among the Greeks, and persons so introduced into court were called παράκλητοι.

148. *Gallia vel potius*] The commentators say that the provinces Gallia and Africa (Libya) were prone to litigation. If so, it was probably through the introduction of these lawyers that they became so, as the natives of India have become more litigious since the supreme courts were established.

150. *Declamare doces?*] He speaks of those who taught rhetoric, one of the usual elements of a Roman's education, and admires the patience and iron nerves of these teachers in listening to the declamations of their classes. Vettius Valens was celebrated as a physician, as one of the paramours of the Empress Messalina, and as the founder of a new school of rhetoricians.

152. *Nam quaecunque sedens*] The class read their declamations sitting, and standing up repeat them again from beginning to end. 'Cantare' is to drawl in a sing-song way. 'Versus' applies to the lines in prose as well as poetry.

154. *crambe repetita*] Κράμβη is cabbage; and to be helped twice to cabbage, according to a proverb given by the Scholiast, was fatal: *δὶς κράμβη θάνατος.*

155. *Quis color et quod sit*] 'Color' means the arguments or oratorical tricks used to give a coloring to a bad case. 'Causae genus' means the class to which the case belongs. Aristotle distinguishes speeches

by three forms (εἴδη): συμβουλευτικόν (deliberative), δικανικόν (forensic), and ἐπιδεικτικόν (for display). Cicero adopted this distinction. The third class came to be called by the Romans 'encomiastic' or 'laudatory.' 'Summa quaestio' is the principal question at issue, the 'gist.' 'Sagittae' are the adversary's arguments.

158. *Mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?*] The pupil says this. "Do you ask for your pay? why, what have I learned?" 'Appellare' is a technical word for demanding payment, 'dunning.' The common construction is 'appellare aliquem de pecunia.' 'Quid enim' is like τί γάρ;

159. *laeva in parte mamillae*] That is, in his heart, which the Romans held to be the seat of the understanding. The Arcadians were like the Boeotians, proverbially dull.

161. *dirus caput Hannibal implet;*] Horace uses this epithet for Hannibal three times, and the boys were always repeating it. The master uses it in a double sense. Hannibal's name was a bugbear with which nurses frightened children, and the Romans to the latest times held it in respect. His exploits were constant themes for declamation. Livy says that, after the battle of Cannae, Maherbal, the commander of Hannibal's cavalry, advised him to push on, and in four days he might sup in the Capitol; that Hannibal applauded his general's spirit, but took time to consider, and that the day so lost was the salvation of Rome. When Hannibal marched an army from Capua to Rome, he offered battle to the consuls, but on each of two consecutive days the armies were prevented from engaging by a violent storm, which subsided as soon as they had returned to their camps. 'An,' 'an' introduce separate questions, this being an example of asyndeton, not of a double question. See M. 453; A. 71, 2 and *d*; H. 346, II., 2; Z. 353 and 554, *fin*.

165. *Quantum vis stipulare*] In the form of contract which was called 'obligatio verbis,' the parties contracted by question and answer. "Dari spondes? Spondeo. Dabis? Dabo," etc. The person who asked the questions was said 'stipulari,' and was called 'stipulator;' the other was called 'promissor,' and was said 'spondere.' The teacher offers to make a bargain with any one that pleases, to give him any amount if he will get the dunce's father to listen to him as often as he himself has done. He makes the other man 'stipulator' and himself 'promissor.'

166. *Haec alii sex Vel plures*] This means plenty more. 'Sophista' was a name commonly given to the rhetoricians and grammarians of this time, as it had been originally to all who were masters of their art. Σοφιστής came to be used in a bad sense through the abuse of science by the later professors, who were despised for taking money from their scholars. It then was used to mean not only a professor, but a trader in wisdom, and from that a mere pretender.

168. *Et veras agitant lites*] He means they give up teaching and go and sue for their wages. He expresses this by saying they leave behind them ravishers and poisonings and bad husbands and drugs to cure blind old men. The history of Medea furnished topics for discus-

sion and declamation; here the bad husband may be Jason, and the blind old man Pelias. 'Veteres' is in apposition with 'caecos:' 'blind men who are quite old.'

171. *Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem*] 'Rudis' was a wooden sword or cudgel with which a gladiator was presented when he got his discharge. He says the rhetoricians leave their schools and betake themselves to the courts that they may make a trifle, which is the most they will get. But he advises them to change their line altogether, and follow some other. 'Pugnam' is the same as 'veras lites' above. 'Umbra' is here a school.

174. *vilis tessera*] 'Tesserae frumentariae' were tickets given to the poor on the public account, in exchange for which they got a small quantity of corn. This gratuitous distribution was called 'frumentatio.' The quantity was not much, and the value of the 'tessera,' if a man sold it, as he might, was small. 'Venit' is from 'veneo.'

176. *Chrysogonus quanti*] Chrysogonus and Pollio were music-masters. Theodorus was a rhetorician. 'Scindens' is here, but nowhere else, used in the sense of cutting up, as we sometimes say. Mr. Mayor explains thus: "Make but a trial of the gains of music-masters, and you will tear up your Elements of Rhetoric."

182. *Parte alia longis*] His baths here, his drives there, his dining-room elsewhere with tall pillars of yellow marble from Numidia. It is so constructed as to catch the winter's sun. But whatever the house costs, the establishment will be in proportion. The person referred to in verse 184 is the 'structor' mentioned v. 120, where see note. 'Pulmentaria' are savory dishes, or sauces.

186. *Quintiliano*] Two sestertia would be nearly $80, a small sum for the whole course, and that to the first rhetorician of the age; but he says it is a large sum compared with what is usual. The Quintilian mentioned is the celebrated author of the 'Institutio Oratoria.' Pliny the younger was his pupil, and so were many of the leading men in politics and literature. He also taught the two grand-nephews of Domitian, who invested him with the title of consul, though he never bore the office. This is what Juvenal means below, verse 197. Though he respected Quintilian, he rather sneers at him here as a lucky man, 'Fortunae filius,' an example 'novorum fatorum,' of strange destinies, and when a man is lucky he is every thing that is fair and great. 'Transi' in verse 190 means 'pass by,' 'do not take into the account.'

192. *lunam subtexit alutae;*] 'Aluta' is a shoe, and 'luna' was some sort of ornament of crescent shape sewn on to it to distinguish the wearer as a senator.

194. *Et si perfrixit, cantat bene.*] And, though he has a cold, he recites well. Though he is hoarse, people will say his voice is very fine. 'Jaculator' seems to mean a hurler of words.

199. *Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius?*] P. Ventidius Bassus was a native of Picenum; and in the Social War, according to one story, being at the time a child in arms, he was carried captive with his mother to Rome, and appeared in the triumphal procession of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, B.C. 89. When he grew up he gained his livelihood

by letting out mules and carriages. He became acquainted with C. Julius Caesar, who took him into Gaul, and employed him for the remainder of his career in important offices. He rose to be tribunus plebis, then praetor, then pontifex, and lastly consul, B.C. 43. Ventidius greatly distinguished himself as the 'legatus' of M. Antonius against the Parthians, and defeated and slew their most redoubtable leaders Labienus and Pacorus, B.C. 39, 38. Ventidius had a triumph B.C. 38, fifty-one years after he had himself followed in Pompeius's procession as a prisoner. By Tullius he means the king Servius Tullius, whose mother Ocrisia, according to the story, was a prisoner of war and a slave. The name Servius shows the condition from which he rose. The following words 'Servis regna dabunt' refer to him, and 'captivis fata triumphos' to Ventidius.

203. *Poenituit multos*] Many have got tired of the vain and profitless chair, that is, the professor's chair. He instances Thrasymachus and Secundus Carinas. The first was one of the sophists who came to Athens about the middle of the fifth century B.C. He taught rhetoric in particular, and had a high reputation. His end, which Juvenal alludes to, is not known on any other authority than that of the Scholiast on this place, who says he hanged himself. The cause is not stated. Secundus Carinas (or Carrinas) was a rhetorician whom Caligula sent into exile, because he declaimed in his school against tyrants. 'Hunc' means Socrates, the person obviously alluded to in the following line. His poverty was proverbial. The demonstrative pronoun, where the context makes the meaning plain, has more force than the name, and Socrates's name was not convenient. We might have expected 'illum' instead of 'hunc,' or after 'hunc' a clause with the relative; but there is no doubt whom Juvenal means. With 'Di' (207) supply 'dent.' 'Loco' (210) is the locative case. M. 273, obs. 1; A. 54, 10; H. 422, 1, 1.

210. *Metuens virgae*] For the construction, see note on v. 154. He contrasts the respeet Achilles showed to his tutor, Chiron the Centaur, with the treatment of modern teachers of rhetoric by their pupils; and yet he says there might have been some excuse even in those days for laughing at the old music-master with his horse's tail hanging behind him. On 'Eliceret,' see references on verse 69. 'Cui' is best taken as a dissyllable. The native mountains of Achilles were in Thessaly.

213. *Sed Rufum*] Rufus the Scholiast says was a Gaul, and very eloquent. Juvenal says he called Cicero an Allobrox, in other words, a barbarian. He meant probably in comparison with himself; but his pupils beat him notwithstanding. The Allobroges were a Gallic tribe on the left bank of the Rhone. The construction of 'quemque' is easily explained, as a sort of synesis or partitive apposition.

215. *Quis gremio Enceladi*] He leaves speaking of the rhetoric masters and turns to the teachers of grammar. Palaemon lived in the time of Tiberius, and was rich and profligate. Enceladus is unknown. He asks, Who ever brings and pours into the teacher's lap as much as his labor deserves? And even of the small fee the boy's 'paedagogus'

gets a bit before it reaches the master. Acoenonetus seems to be a proper name invented for this gentleman, who takes as much and gives as little as he can. The Greek ἀκοινώνητος is exactly copied.

221. *Institor hibernae tegetis*] He advises Palaemon to let the man take a slice off his fee, and beat him down from his price, rather than lose the whole of what he has sat up night after night to earn. 'Cadurcum' is a quilt of linen, the name being derived, as is probable, from the Cadurci, a people of Gallia, who wove linen cloth.

224. *obliquo lanam deducere*] 'Obliquo ferro' is the carding instrument, consisting of crooked bits of iron fastened in a board. 'Deducere' and 'trahere' are usual words for this process.

225. *olfecisse lucernas*] Boys going to school at night carried lanterns with them; the master had to bear the smell of as many lamps as there were boys, and their books were black with the smoke. The works of Horace came to be a class-book, as he foretold they would; Virgil's were thus used before his death.

228. *quae cognitione tribuni*] What authority for the administration of justice the tribunus plebis had under the empire I do not know. Under the republic he had none, directly at least.

229. *Sed vos saevas*] He addresses the fathers in an ironical vein.

230. *verborum regula constet,*] This means that his constructions should be correct. 'Omnes' belongs to 'historias' as well as to 'auctores.'

233. *Phoebi balnea,*] 'Balnea' were bathing-rooms or houses; 'thermae,' large buildings intended for gymnastic exercises, and also supplied with hot water and vapor baths. The historical questions these poor teachers are to answer are not unparalleled in some modern examinations. The Scholiast thought he knew the name of Anchises's nurse, and says it was Tisiphone; perhaps he jested. There was an Archemorus also named Opheltes. His mother's name was Eurydice, and his father's Lycurgus. He was king of Nemea, and in honor of his son the Nemean Games were instituted. But Virgil speaks of another. He was son of an Italian prince Rhoetus, who married a second wife named Casperia, and her step-son is said to have committed incest with her. Acestes is the Sicilian king who twice received Aeneas hospitably. Virgil speaks of him as an old man, "aevi maturus Acestes." The 'cadus' was the same as the 'amphora,' and the 'amphora' was equal to two 'urnae,' or nearly six gallons.

237. *Exigite ut mores*] The poet has put as ironical advice to fathers what they do without his advice; and the requirements contained in verses 229–240 are what the man means when he says 'haec cures,' as if he had been recounting them to him. 'Inquit,' 'says he,' means any father who has a boy in the school. If the master attends to all these things, then at the end of the year he will get paid his fee, which amounts to as much as a prize-fighter or such like gets in the circus or amphitheatre. This the father tells him with much impudence, as if that ought to satisfy him. Whether it was usual to pay the teacher's fee annually or not I do not know. Horace speaks of its being paid monthly on the Ides. But the practice must have varied in different

places. Juvenal speaks above (verse 186) of two sestertia as Quintilian's fee; that would be perhaps for a whole year, or a course. The sum of five 'aurei' was allowed to be given to a successful gladiator. As to '**aureus**,' see above, verse 122, n.

SATIRE VIII.

THE vice of aristocratic pretension is here represented with moderation and good sense. There is no idle declamation against hereditary honors; but the blindness of men belonging to an exclusive class, whose claims to distinction were founded upon the merits of the great and good of former generations and unsupported by any personal merits of their own, is shown in language to which no one can object and reasoning which admits of no answer. The Satire is in the form of a letter addressed to one Pontius. He is one of the class against whose degenerate members the Satire is directed; and we may suppose he was a young man with what we should call good prospects. The pride of birth and the degeneracy of inherited nobility were not new features of society in Juvenal's time, and they have not grown so old in ours but that generations to come will complain as he did, and pour contempt, as he did not, on the inheritance of noble names, however virtuous their possessors may be. There are some severe lines on the Emperor Nero (211—230), and the Satire was written after his time, as the context shows; but how long it is impossible to say. Certain references to military movements and victories would seem to place it a little later than A.D. 100.

ARGUMENT.—Of what use are pedigrees and ancestral blood, if in the face of our great ancestors we live amiss? Virtue alone is true nobility (1–20). Names cannot change nature or make a man illustrious (21–38). You take credit to yourself for your descent, and place yourself above the common herd. But in that rabble you will find eloquence and bravery, while you are useless (39–55). The horse is called noble which wins in the race; if he cannot do this, he sells for little (56–70). I would not have you valued on the merits of your family; it is a poor thing to rest on another's fame. Do your duty, and value not your life before your character (71–86). When you get the charge of a province, respect the rights of men and obey the laws. Those subjects suffered less when they were first subdued; peaceful governors have spoiled them. But even they are careful not to touch those whom they fear (87–124). If you and your favorites and your wife are just, you may trace your birth to any source you please. But, otherwise, your ancestors only make your shame the greater (125–145).

Why, a consul drives horses and takes care of them and frequents low taverns (146–162). Such faults should be left with boyhood. The legate is to be found in the worst company; you would send to the fields a slave who should act thus (163–182). It is worse yet when our great men go upon the stage and fight in the arena, choosing disgrace (183–210). Many were Nero's crimes; but it was worst of all when he sang in theatres, and strove for the parsley crown (211–230). Catilina and Cethegus were free-born; Cicero was ignoble, yet he won a greater victory than Octavius. Marius, too, and the Decii, and the last good king, were of lowly birth; a slave saved the city, when the consul's sons would have betrayed it (231–268). You had better be the son of Thersites and like Achilles, than be the son of Achilles and like Thersites. Go back as far as you will, your progenitor was at best a shepherd (269–275).

1. *Stemmata quid faciunt?*] The Romans had in their 'atria' waxen busts of their ancestors, which were carried in all funeral processions of the family. They had also tables of their pedigree, in which there were portraits with wreaths twined about them; and on these were inscribed the names and offices of the persons represented. The tables came to be called 'stemmata' from these wreaths. 'Pictos vultus' are the portraits on these genealogical trees.

2. *Sanguine censeri*] This construction of 'censere' with the ablative is not found in the writers before the empire. It is the ablative of value, and 'longo sanguine censeri' is to be valued at the worth of a long line of ancestors.

3. *stantes in curribus*] See vii. 125, n.; x. 59. The only historical Aemilianus when this was written was the younger Scipio, who was born of the Aemilia gens, an old patrician family. His father was L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, but he was adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the elder Scipio Africanus. The full name of the younger after his adoption was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, to which Africanus was afterwards added as an agnomen. The Curii were a plebeian family, of whom M. Curius Dentatus was the first distinguished member. Corvinus was a cognomen of the Valeria gens, a very old family. The Galbae belonged to the Sulpicia gens, which was patrician and of great antiquity. 'Jam dimidios' means that they are broken in half. Other waxen busts are supposed to have lost an arm or to have a piece out of the shoulder.

6. *generis tabula*] A great roll of his ancestors that the man is supposed to keep. The commentators now are generally agreed in rejecting the next verse. Heinrich, who does so, supposes by 'virga' the interpolator meant a broom to keep the busts clean; the Scholiast takes it for the 'fasces.'

8. *Fumosos Equitum*] In the middle of the 'atrium' was a 'focus' round which were the images of the Lares. The family chart would soon get smoked. A Dictator was in early times called 'magister populi,' as being elected by the 'populus' or 'curiae.' With the Dictator was always appointed another officer subordinate to him, who was called 'magister equitum,' for what reason is not certain.

9. *Si coram Lepidis*] The Lepidi were a branch of the Aemilia gens (verse 3), a great number of whom held the first offices of the state. 'Effigies' is the accusative; some such verb as 'parasti' is to be supplied. M. 239; A. & S. 209, R. 4; Z. 770; B. 720, *b*. Numantinus was an agnomen given to Scipio Africanus the Younger after the capture of Numantia, B.C. 133. The plural in verses 11 and 13 is like 'Licinis' in i. 109. Compare M. 50, obs. 4.

13. *Cur Allobrogicis*] Q. Fabius Maximus was surnamed Allobrogicus from his victory over the Gallic tribe Allobroges in the year of his consulship, B.C. 121. The Fabia gens were said to be descendants of Hercules. The Ara Maxima, an altar near the Forum Boarium, was said to be that which Hercules built after he had killed Cacus. 'Gaudeat' is the dubitative subjunctive, taking the place of the indicative which the apodosis would regularly require. A. 57, 6; H. 511, 1; B. 1263.

15. *Euganea quantumvis mollior agna;*] The Euganei were originally the occupiers of all the country which the Veneti afterwards possessed. We do not hear elsewhere of their flocks, but all that region was famous for its pastures. 'Quantumvis' is 'ever so much,' as we say.

16. *attritus Catinensi pumice*] The town of Catina was situated at the foot of Aetna, and the rough stones thrown up by that volcano were abundant in the neighborhood. They were used by the effeminate for rubbing the skin. 'Lumbum' is the so-called Greek accusative. A. 52, 3, *c*; H. 380; B. 728; M. 237, *c*.

17. *Squalentes traducit avos,*] 'Squalentes' means 'rough,' 'rugged,' and is opposed to the fine soft skin this degenerate Fabius cultivates. 'Traducit' seems to be 'exposes to contempt.' The next line is, 'If he buy poison and disgrace his house by having his bust broken, as if he were convicted of murder it would be, either by the public executioner or by the populace.' 'Funestare' is properly to defile by blood.

21. *Paullus vel Cossus vel Drusus*] These were cognomens of the Aemilia, Cornelia, and Claudia gentes. There were more than one whom Juvenal may have had in mind. 'Hos' and 'illi' refer to 'moribus.' 'Virgas' means the 'fasces.'

26. *Agnosco procerem.*] 'I recognize the nobleman.' He is speaking throughout of this class; and though virtue in any class is true nobility, he is here speaking of virtue in the privileged class, as it is called. On the form of the sentence, see on iii. 100; H. 503, 1; B. 1279. 'Gaetulicus' was a title given to Cossus Cornelius Lentulus; the Silani were connected by marriage with the family of the Caesars.

29. *populus quod clamat*] Osiris was worshipped in part of Egypt under the form of the bull Apis. When the bull had reached a certain age, he was drowned, and the people went into mourning until they could find another animal properly marked to take his place. The exclamation raised when the bull was found was (in Greek) *εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν*.

30. *generosum dixerit*] 'Generosus' as its derivation shows, belongs properly to descent. But, like εὐγενής, it came to have a wider sense. A man might be 'nobilis' without being 'generosus,' the former being nobility of personal distinction, the latter of patrician blood. The verb 'est' of the relative clause is to be supplied. See M. 479, obs.

32. *Nanum cujusdam*] In the later times of the republic and afterwards it was the fashion for rich persons to have idiots, dwarfs, and other deformities in their houses to amuse them. The former were called 'moriones' or 'fatui,' the latter 'nani,' 'pumiliones,' or 'pumili.' They were of either sex. The practice has been continued to very late times, and is not unknown now, especially in the East. 'Pravam' is 'crooked,' and 'extortam' is 'twisted out of shape,' so there is not much difference.

38. *ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.*] Creticus was an agnomen of the Caecilii Metelli first given to Q. Caecilius Metellus, who conducted and brought to a successful conclusion the war with Crete, for which he triumphed, B.C. 62. The Caecilia gens was plebeian, but much distinguished. Camerinus was the name of a good old family of the patrician gens Sulpicia. Juvenal, after saying that things are called by their opposites, advises his friend not to be called a Creticus or Camerinus, for the inference would be that he was something very low.

39. *Rubelli Plaute.*] C. Rubellius Plautus was descended through his mother Julia from Tiberius, whose son Drusus was Julia's father. He incurred the jealousy of Nero, who caused him to be put to death, A.D. 62. Juvenal makes use of his name probably without thinking much about accuracy, and though the man had been dead some years he speaks of him as still alive. On 'feceris' in verse 41, see A. 61, 1, R.; M. 349 and obs.; Z. 572. 'Esses' takes its tense from 'feceris.'

42. *Ut te conciperet*] The man is as proud as if he had done something to deserve nobility, and to be born of a noble mother rather than of a poor woman working for daily pay at the loom by the 'agger' of Tullius, respecting which see note on v. 153. 'Propter quod' and 'ut' are parallel, each introducing a purpose.

46. *Ast ego Cecropides!*] Εὐγένεια Κέκροπος was a proverb. The man means he is of royal blood, that is all.

49. *Nobilis indocti;*] 'Nobilis' is not used as a substantive, and 'indocti' does not agree with it as an adjective with a noun. It is 'the nobleman who is unlearned,' as 'jam veteres caecos' in vii. 170 is 'blind men who are quite old.' 'Quiritem' is emphatic; he is not only a man, but a Roman citizen, and worthy of being so. As to 'plebe togata,' see i. 96. The poorer sort of people may have been so called by the rich from their frequent appearance before them in the 'toga,' without which it was not respectful to go into the presence of their patrons.

51. *petit Euphraten juvenis*] 'Juvenis' is a man of fighting age, and here it is used emphatically for a brave soldier. The state of the East required the presence of a standing army to keep down rebellion

in Armenia, which was reduced to a Roman province by Trajan, and to check the Parthians. The Batavi were a brave people, and were never strictly tributary to the Romans. In the years A.D. 69, 70, they carried on a sharp struggle for independence under a native chief Civilis. They were at last put down. The satire, therefore, was written after this war. 'Aquilas' is put for the army left after the outbreak to prevent a recurrence of it.

53. *truncoque simillimus Hermae.*] This seems to have been proverbial. 'Hermae' were busts; properly, but not necessarily, of Hermes or Mercurius, which, like the Greeks, the Romans used to ornament gardens, to mark boundaries, and for other purposes. 'Trunco' only means that it had no legs. It ended in a square column.

56. *Teucrorum proles,*] See note on i. 100, 'Ipsos Trojugenas.' 'Sic' is 'on these conditions,' and 'cui' is equivalent to 'si illi.'

63. *Hirpini*] Lipsius gives an inscription which he says he saw and copied at Rome, by which it appears that Hirpinus was the son of Aquilo, a celebrated racer. The stone Lipsius describes was a curious one. It had the figure of a man of the Red faction standing in the middle, with a stick in his right hand and some hay in the left, and two horses jumping upon him, one on each side; these are the sire Aquilo and the son Hirpinus. The inscription on one side is AQUILO N. AQUILONIS VICIT CXXX. SECUND. TULIT LXXXVIII. TER. TULIT XXXVII. On the other is HIRPINUS N. AQUILONIS VICIT CXIIII. SECUNDAS TULIT LVI. TERT. TUL. XXXVI. The other horse 'Corytha' is unknown; in fact the proper spelling of the name is doubtful.

66. *trito ducunt epiredia collo*] They are put to draw with galled neck 'epiredia,' which were carts or harness, it seems uncertain which. 'Nepos' is the name of a baker. There were hand-mills and mills turned by horses, or more commonly asses, which is the origin of the term μύλος ὀνικός, which occurs twice in the New Testament (Matt. xviii. 6; Luke xvii. 2). On the use of 'versare' for 'qui versentur,' see A. 65, 2, *f*; M. 363, obs. 1; B. 921.

68. *primum aliquid da*] 'Da' means 'tell me.' 'Damus et dedimus,' 'we give and have always given,' expresses the heartiness with which such honor is given where it is due.

71. *quem nobis fama superbum Tradit*] 'Whose nobility gives him to us proud, puffed up, and full of his relationship to Nero.'

73. *sensus communis*] This means a sense held in common with others. (See Horace, S. i. 3. 66, "communi sensu plane caret.") That sense which is common property would naturally escape the exclusives. It implies a sympathy with mankind which the pride of birth in the nature of the case prevents, and also a knowledge of character and of the value of things only to be got through the experience of common life and intercourse with practical minds. In Horace's instance this common sense is what the French call 'tact.' The man there might be a worthy man, but he had a way of doing things out of time and place, and annoying people by want of consideration. Here the want of common sense is shown in a silly ignorance of self, and of the worth of that which all the rest of the world knows is

worth nothing to him. The phrase 'communis sensus' has a variety of applications which are easily made. See Bowen's Hamilton's Metaphysics, chap. xxvii.

78. *Stratus humi palmes*] Horace repeatedly refers to this practice of training the vine to trees.

79. *tutor bonus*,] 'Tutor' was the guardian of a minor's property, and the minor was his 'pupillus.'

81. *Phalaris licet imperet*] The story of Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, and his bull is sufficiently well known.

85. *Dignus morte perit*,] "That man deserves death, and is dead already." The subject is implied in what goes before, the man who prefers his life to his honor, and for life's sake throws away that for which he lives (the maintaining of his honor). 'Pudor' in this sense is not found earlier than Juvenal. 'Perit' is the perfect tense.

86. *Gaurana et Cosmi*] Mons Gaurus was close to the Lacus Lucrinus, which was famous for its oyster-beds. Cosmus is the name of a perfumer often referred to by Martial. 'Aëno' is the vessel in which he prepared his perfumes. 'Toto mergatur aeno' is the same as 'totus mergatur,' 'though he be plunged head over ears in Cosmus's copper.'

89. *miserere inopum sociorum*;] The term 'socii' was applied to all the subjects and tributaries of Rome, natives of countries beyond the limits of Italy. All other foreign nations were 'exterae nationes.' By 'regum' he means native princes, who were allowed to retain the title with no power, and whom the Roman governors drained, leaving them without authority or money, like bones with the marrow extracted. 'Vacuis exsucta medullis' is, by hypallage, for 'vacua exsuctis medullis.'

91. *quid curia mandet*,] The governors of the senatorial provinces, like those of the imperial, received their instructions from the emperor by 'rescripta.' But their appointment was nominally in the senate, whose authority they were supposed to represent. Cossutianus Capito was appointed governor of Cilicia in the year A.D. 56. Next year he was charged by the provincials with extortion and degraded. But he recovered his senatorial rank through the influence of Tigellinus, his father-in-law. Numitor is unknown. He calls them pirates of the Cilicians, perhaps because those people had been themselves notorious pirates. The names Pansa and Natta as governors of provinces are unknown. 'Tibi' means any provincial; Chaerippus, for instance, whom he advises to look out for a 'praeco' to sell his tattered clothes (all he has left), and then hold his tongue, and not think of wasting his money by coming to Rome to complain, which he expresses by saying it is mere madness, after all he has lost, to throw away the cost of a voyage. 'Naulum,' which is borrowed from the Greek (ναῦλον), is found in the law writers. It is the fare.

98. *Non idem gemitus*] He says the provincials suffered less from conquest than they suffered afterwards from their governors. The conquerors left them their money and other property. The 'chlamys' was a light shawl worn by the Greeks, and occasionally by Romans

under the empire. The Laconian was a purple dye. The Coan dresses were of fine silk, very thin. 'Conchylia' were shell-fish from which a purple was extracted. It was not exactly the same as the 'purpura,' though not usually distinguished from it. The painter Parrhasius of Ephesus flourished at Athens during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War; about the beginning of which flourished Myron, the great sculptor, who is the reputed artist of the δισκοβόλος, of which casts and copies may be seen. 'Phidiacum ebur' refers to the chryselephantine statues of Phidias, the most celebrated of which were the statue of Athene in the Parthenon, and of Zeus at Olympia. Phidias, the oldest of the artists here mentioned, was of nearly the same age with Polycletus of Argos, who executed a celebrated statue in ivory and gold of Hera for her temple near Argos. 'Vivebat' expresses the life-like character of the statues. Mentor was a celebrated artist in silver about the middle of the fourth century B.C. His cups and other works, or works which passed for his, were highly esteemed by the Romans.

105. *Inde Dolabella*] Cn. Dolabella was praetor of Cilicia, B.C. 80, 79, and on his return to Rome was prosecuted for 'repetundae,' 'extortion,' and was convicted chiefly on the evidence of C. Verres, his proquaestor, who himself afterwards became so notorious as the plunderer of Sicily. Dolabella was sent into exile; and Verres went into voluntary banishment rather than abide the result of Cicero's famous prosecution. C. Antonius, uncle of the triumvir M. Antonius, was proconsul of Macedonia, and on his return to Rome was, like the others, prosecuted for plundering the province, and though Cicero, whose colleague he had been in the consulship, defended him, he was convicted and went into exile, B.C. 59.

107. *plures de pace triumphos.*] They got more triumphs out of peace than conquerors got from war, that is, more spoils such as were carried in triumphal processions. But now the 'socii' have but little left, and that little they are robbed of. The final syllable in 'occulta' is made long by position. See H. 611, 1, 1; B. 1427, 2; A. & S. 283, IV., R. 'Lares' is not to be taken strictly, for he is not speaking of Romans; but other nations had their heroes and tutelary gods, of whom they kept images in their houses. 'Aedicula' is a small recess set apart for the reception of these images. 'Signum' is the word for any figure carved or cast; 'statua' is confined to full-length figures.

113. *Forsitan imbelles Rhodios*] The luxurious and vicious character of the Corinthians is well known. Juvenal gives the Rhodians the epithet which Horace applies to the Tarentines.

114. *Quid resinata juventus*] Resin was used for smoothing the skin, like the rough stone mentioned above (verse 16). 'Axis' is not uncommonly put for a region of the sky, and then for a country. 'Latus' is used for the sea-coast.

118. *Qui saturant Urbem*] He is speaking of the Africans, who supplied the greater part of the corn imported into Rome. 'Qui saturant Urbem' means that they fill the bellies of the citizens, whom he describes as wasting their time in the circus and the theatre. 'Autem'

may here be rendered 'besides.' See M. 437, *b*. As to Marius, see i. 47, n. 'Discinxerit' is used as we use the word 'strip.'

122. *Fortibus et miseris:*] It is not well to do any great wrong to those who are at once brave and poor (miseris), for if you take their money they will use their arms.

125. *non est sententia:*] He means it is not what we call a saw, a commonplace. The 'Sibyllini libri' were writings of a prophetic or oracular character, originally of great antiquity. The old books were kept in the Capitol, and destroyed with the temple by fire, B.C. 83, during Sulla's invasion of Italy. A collection was afterwards made from various parts of the Roman dominions of writings professing to be taken from the Sibylline books, and this new collection was deposited in the same temple when it was rebuilt. These sacred books were placed by Augustus in the Palatine temple of Apollo. In consulting the books a leaf appears to have been taken at random, which explains the text.

127. *Si tibi sancta cohors comitum,*] 'Cohors' and 'comites' were used for the personal staff of a governor. 'Tribunal vendit' means 'sells your judgments.' It is like 'suffragia vendimus' (x. 77). 'Acersecomes,' ἀκερσεκόμης (with hair unshorn), is Homer's epithet for Apollo, and here means a favorite boy kept for bad purposes.

128. *si nullum in conjuge crimen,*] In the time of the republic governors were not allowed to take their wives abroad with them. Augustus was very strict about this. But he himself took Livia with him on more than one tour. Afterwards the practice became common. We know from the Evangelist St. Matthew that Pilate's wife was with him at Jerusalem.

129. *Nec per conventus*] Every province was divided into districts, in each of which there was a town where the governor going round his province stopped and received all Roman citizens of that district who came for justice or other business. These meetings were called 'conventus,' and so also were the districts. Celaeno was one of the harpies, and 'curvis unguibus' represents the Greek γαμψῶνυξ. Here the wife is meant.

131. *Tunc licet a Pico*] Picus was a son of Saturnus, and an early mythical king of Italy. 'Omnem Titanida pugnam' is the same as 'omnes Titanas pugnatores;' the figure is metonomy. They were sons of Earth, and Prometheus was one of them. The force of 'ipsum,' Prometheus himself, is that he was reputed to have been the creator of man. 'Avus,' 'proavus,' 'abavus,' 'atavus,' 'tritavus,' is the ascending scale, but each of these words is used generically for ancestors.

136. *Si frangis virgas*] Scourging was practised only on those who were not Roman citizens. There was a Lex Porcia which forbade any citizen to be scourged. "Facinus est vincire civem Romanum; scelus verberare; prope parricidium necare; quid dicam in crucem tollere? verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest" (Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 66). Of this enormity Verres was guilty. The usual way of putting to death was by beheading. The cross was confined to

slaves and the lowest malefactors. There is a parallel to 140, 141, in Wisdom vi. 5, 6: "A sharp judgment shall be to them that are in high places; for mercy will soon pardon the meanest, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented." With 144, 145, compare Job xxiv. 15–17.

142. *Quo mihi te*] After 'quo,' 'to what purpose,' an ellipsis is commonly found (see above on verse 9). Here we may understand 'jactas' or 'ostentas.' Wills were sometimes executed and kept in the temples.

145. *Santonico*] The Santones were a Gallic people north of the Garonne. Their name remains in the town of Saintes. They made woollen manufactures.

146. *Praeter majorum cineres*] This is explained on i. 171. 'Carpentum' was a covered carriage on two wheels. Juvenal is speaking of the way in which men of family degrade themselves as coachmen (see i. 59, n.), and says that actually a consul may be seen putting a big drag on his wheel with his own hands.

147. *pinguis Lateranus,*] Lateranus was a cognomen of the Claudia gens, of the Sextia, and of the Plautia. 'Testes,' in verse 149, is best taken as nominative.

153. *Jam senis,*] 'Jam' is only emphatic, like ἤδη. The coachman is not ashamed to meet his friend, though quite an old man, whom he ought to have blushed to meet. He recognizes him first and salutes him with his whip, as we see drivers do now, turning up the but-end as they pass an acquaintance. 'Maniplos' are the bands of hay. He goes through all the dirty work of a groom.

157. *Solam Eponam*] Plutarch says that Epona was the offspring of a man and a mare, and that she looked after horses; she was the mule-drivers' goddess. 'Juro,' like ὄμνυμι, is construed with the accusative. See Hadley's Greek Grammar, 544, *a*.

158. *Sed quum pervigiles*] 'But when he chooses to visit the eating-houses,' which are called 'pervigiles' because they were kept open all night for the benefit of such people. 'Instaurare' is 'to repeat.' Here it means to visit again and again.

159. *Syrophoenix udus amomo*] The host always runs out to meet him with a box of ointment such as the luxurious commonly put on their hair when they sat down to meals. The people of Coelesyria and Phoenice were called Syrophoenicians. They contained among them remnants of the earliest inhabitants. The woman who is called a Syrophoenician by the Evangelist St. Mark (vii. 26), is called by St. Matthew a Canaanite (xv. 22). This Syrophoenician is said to be an inhabitant of a town of Idumaea, which is perhaps here meant for Judaea. 'Pòrta' is used for a place through which traffic passes. See xi. 124; cf. iii. 4. Idumaea properly is the equivalent for Edom, and therefore included only the country inhabited by the Edomites, which was from the southern border of Canaan to Mount Horeb in Arabia. In later times Idumaea extended to Hebron on the north. The chief town was Petra, a place of great traffic with Rome and other countries.

161. *Hospitis affectu*] With all the air of a host he salutes his

customer as My Lord and King, and the hostess bustles in with wine. 'Lagena' and 'amphora' are the same vessel. 'Venali' only means that he must pay for it.

164. *Desisti nempe,*] 'But of course you have left them off.' 'Nempe' is formed from 'nam' and 'pe' (which is the same as 'que' probably), as 'quippe' from 'quia,' and they mean 'surely,' 'of course.' M. 435, obs. 4; Z. 278.

168. *Thermarum calices*] 'Thermae' here is the same as 'thermopolium.' Hot wine and water was a favorite drink with the Romans, and it was sold at these 'popinae,' where the food and drink were consumed on the premises, not supplied to be taken home, as from 'cauponae.' 'Inscripta lintea' has been variously explained. It is most likely a curtain before the shop to keep the sun off. The shops were open then, as they commonly are now. The 'linteum' had a sign or a name on it. 'Inscripta' is the same as 'picta,' 'embroidered;' it is not so used elsewhere.

169. *Armeniae Syriaeque*] The Germans on the Rhine and the Scythian tribes on the Danube were perpetual sources of trouble to the Romans. He says at the age when this man is wasting his life he might be serving in the army and protecting the empire. He uses Nero's name generically for the emperor of the day, whoever he was. The ablative absolute is concessive; "though the rivers need garrisons." The rivers of Syria and Armenia are the Euphrates and the Tigris.

171. *Mitte ostia, Caesar,*] 'Ostia' is here taken for the mouth of the Tiber, where he would have to embark for foreign service. The word is in the accusative, as the name of a place. 'Jacentem' means 'lying at table.' 'Sandapilae' were common biers, on which poor people were carried out to burial. The Galli and their drums are well known. This priest is lying drunk on his back with his drum by his side. The vulgar group and their familiarity are well represented here, and the scene is one Hogarth might have drawn.

180. *Nempe in Lucanos*] After 'Lucanos,' 'agros' must be supplied. 'Ergastula' were places in which slaves were kept in chains at various employments, such as grinding corn, cutting and breaking stones, and other country work, and taken as they were wanted to work in the fields. There were one or more 'ergastula' attached to most estates, and slaves were sent to them for misbehavior or through the caprice of their masters. As to 'Trojugenae,' see i. 100, n., and in this satire, verses 42, 56. Volesus was the father of Valerius Poplicola, who was associated with Brutus in the first consulship after the expulsion of the Tarquins.

185. *Consumptis opibus*] Under the name of Damasippus, he means any person of good family who was reduced to acting on the stage in a low farce of Catullus. 'Siparium' is properly a stage curtain; here it stands for the theatre. The name of the 'mimus' is The Ghost, and it was probably full of coarse, noisy fun. 'Infamia' was a consequence of appearing on a public stage as an actor. Laureolus was the title of another 'mimus' by the same author, and Lentulus

is another patrician. The name belonged to the Cornelia gens. This play was celebrated. Laureolus, the principal character, was crucified for some delinquency. Josephus says he was a robber. Juvenal says that the man who acted him, vigorously and even well, ought to have been hanged in reality.

190. *triscurria patriciorum,*] This word 'triscurria' is not found elsewhere. The more likely derivation is from 'scurra,' and 'triscurria' are buffooneries of the lowest kind, 'tri' having, as in several other words, an intensive meaning. If the word were compounded of 'curro,' it would be 'tricurria,' for 'tris' is Greek.

191. *Planipedes audit Fabios,*] 'Planipedes' were actors in 'mimi,' so called because they wore nothing on their feet. The Mamerci were a family of the Aemilia gens, patricians.

192. *Quanti sua funera vendant*] He goes on to show how patricians hired themselves out as gladiators. In the time of the republic most of the 'ludi publici' were under the management of the aediles. Under the empire the aediles had inferior functions, and the office fell into disrepute. The public games and theatrical representations were thenceforward managed by the praetors. The praetor sat on his curule chair, raised above the other seats, and he is therefore called 'celsi.' 'Ludis' is used to denote the time when the sale is made. M. 276, obs. 2; H. 426, 1.

195. *Finge tamen gladios*] Suppose this choice were given you of the sword or the stage, who would hesitate between death and degradation? 'Quid' is for 'utrum;' as in English 'which' has taken the place of 'whether' (of two things). Thymele the 'mima' has been mentioned before, with her partner Latinus (i. 36). Zelotypus is the jealous husband in the play, as 'stupidus' is the blockhead who got knocked about. Corinthus seems to have been famous in this part. Nothing more is known of him. Nero's pride in his musical attainments is well known; see below on verse 225. 'Mimus' and 'planipes' (191) are the same. Unlike the Greeks, from whom the word is borrowed, the Romans gave the name to the actor as well as to the play.

199. *Haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus?*] 'After this (if we go on in this way) what shall we have at Rome but shows?' 'Ludus' or 'res ludicrae' included theatrical and gladiatorial and all other shows. 'Illud' refers to what follows, which is an instance. See A. 20, 2, *b*; H. 450, 3; M. 485, *b*. 'Et' is used to introduce an illustration. The especial disgrace of the person referred to as Gracchus is, that he preferred fighting as a 'retiarius' whose arms and dress gave him no disguise, since he wore no helmet or shield, and nothing but a cap and short tunic, so that everybody could see and recognize his face. The 'mirmillones' were also called Galli, being armed like the Gauls with a helmet, a short sword, and an oblong shield covering the greater part of their body. 'Falce' means 'a short sword;' and 'supina,' 'upturned.' The 'retiarius' threw his net, and, if he failed to entangle his adversary, caught it up and ran round the Circus, pursued by the other, till he could get another opportunity of throwing

it. 'Spectacula' means the 'spectatores.' When a gladiator was beaten he commonly held up his hand to the spectators to plead for his life; which depended upon their caprice.

207. *Credamus tunicae,*] We may know it is Gracchus by his tunic, and the strings (spira) of his cap, which, as well as the tunic, were embroidered with gold. It appears from this that Gracchus was one of the priests of Mars, who wore tunics and caps of this kind. 'Secutor' was another kind of gladiator, who was usually matched with the 'retiarius.' 'Ergo' means, since then he is well known to be but a priest, the 'secutor' will only be disgraced by such an adversary.

212. *Senecam praeferre Neroni?*] Tacitus says that in the conspiracy against Nero headed by Piso (A.D. 65), some of the principal conspirators agreed that, after the tyrant was killed, Piso should also be put out of the way, and the empire offered to Seneca, who had been tutor to Nero, but had fallen under his suspicion. The conspiracy was discovered, and Seneca was charged with being a party to it, and put to death with several others. Tiberius, two years after he became emperor, put an end to the little influence for elections that Augustus left the comitia of the centuries. See Tac. Ann. i. 15.

213. *Cujus supplicio*] The punishment for 'parricidium' from very early times was that the criminal be scourged, and sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and a monkey, and thrown into the sea. Juvenal says that Nero deserved this many times over. He put to death his mother Agrippina at the instigation of his mistress Poppaea Sabina, A.D. 59. Three years afterwards he divorced, banished, and murdered his wife Octavia, and having married Poppaea killed her in a fit of rage. He also caused to be put to death, because she would not marry him, Antonia, his sister by adoption, being the daughter of Claudius, who adopted Nero and made him his heir, to the exclusion of his own son Britannicus, whose death Nero effected by the hands of Locusta, having before been a party to the murder of his father Claudius, contrived by his mother Agrippina. Besides Britannicus, Nero poisoned his father's sister Domitia for her money. All this he says was worse than any thing Orestes did. He put his mother Clytemnestra to death, but he did it by the order of Apollo, to revenge his father's murder. He did not murder his sister Electra, nor his wife Hermione (daughter of Menelaus and Helen), nor poison his relations.

219. *Sanguine conjugii;*] This is used for 'conjugis,' by a common trope. Nero went upon the stage first at Naples, where he appeared several times. He is said to have written a poem on the burning of Troy. Dion Cassius mentions the poem, which Suetonius says Nero recited while Rome was burning, looking out from a tower and admiring the beauty of the flames. See Tac. Ann. xv. 39.

221. *Quid enim Verginius armis*] He asks which of all Nero's crimes so called for punishment as his having written this dull poem. L. Verginius Rufus, Julius Vindex, and Galba were governors of Upper Germany, Gallia, and Hispania Tarraconensis under Nero. Vindex

rebelled, and offered to get the empire for Galba, but lost his life in a battle with Verginius, who was sent against him, but who afterwards was mainly instrumental in establishing Galba, though he never took up arms directly against Nero. Juvenal speaks of them all as if they were leagued against Nero, and it is true that Verginius and Vindex were in communication just before the battle in which the latter lost his life.

223. *tam saeva crudaque tyrannide*] The reign of Nero was from A.D. 54 to 68. It began in murder, and was brought to an abrupt end through the hatred created by his savage conduct. The praetorian troops were induced by their commander Nymphidius Sabinus to revolt in favor of Galba, and Nero being entirely deserted by soldiers and friends destroyed himself.

224. *generosi Principis*] 'Generosi' is used sarcastically.

225. *peregrina ad pulpita*] Nero went (A.D. 67) through Achaia and various parts of Greece, reciting in the theatres and contending for the prizes at the Olympic games. He was highly delighted with the flattery of the Achaeans, who sent him all the crowns of the musicians as if he were Apollo and the guardian of the Muses. The number of his crowns is said to have exceeded 1800. Consult Merivale, vi. 108, 269, 273–5. 'Cantu,' 'cantare' (verse 220), mean only recitation.

226. *apium meruisse coronae*] Parsley was used for the crown of the victors in the Isthmian and Nemean games. The Olympic crown was of olive, and the Pythian of laurel.

228. *Ante pedes Domiti*] Nero's name before his adoption by his step-father Claudius was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and in that branch of the Domitia gens there were many distinguished persons whose busts were in his palace. The poet tells him to hang up by their images his stage dresses and harp, as soldiers hung their armor and spoils. 'Syrma' was a train attached to the 'palla,' worn by tragic actors, so named from σύρειν, to sweep. Melanippe was a daughter of Aeolus. By 'marmoreo colosso' he means a colossal statue of one of his ancestors.

231. *Quid, Catilina, tuis*] Catilina was of the Sergia gens, one of the oldest patrician families; and Cethegus, his chief companion in his conspiracy, was of the Cornelia gens. Their conspiracy is well known. See Merivale, i. 114, sqq.

234. *Ut Braccatorum pueri*] Before the formation of the separate province Gallia Narbonensis, it appears that the Romans gave the inhabitants the name 'Braccati' (as they called themselves 'togati') from their wearing, like nearly all other nations not Greek or Roman, 'braccae,' 'breeches.' The Senones were an ancient Gallic tribe on the Seine. They were among the Gauls who invaded Italy in the time of the Tarquins, and they remained in Umbria till the Romans destroyed them all, B.C. 283.

235. *tunica punire molesta.*] This has been alluded to above (i. 155); 'tunica molesta' seems to have been a familiar name.

237. *Hic novus Arpinas,*] Arpinum was a town of Latium and a

municipium, and there Cicero was born, B.C. 106. He was the first of his gens (Tullia) that had curule honors, and was therefore 'novus homo' and 'ignobilis.' After him his family became 'nobilis.' He was consul B.C. 63, and in that year the conspiracy of Catilina was formed. Cicero often alludes to his own connection with the equestrian order. 'Galeatum' means with their helmets on ready for action, as in i. 169. 'Attonitis' refers to the people, who knew nothing of the reasons for such measures. 'In omni gente laborat' means 'he cares for all people.'

240. *toga contulit illi*] 'Toga' is equivalent to peace, as is common. 'Nominis et tituli' is a common way of speaking, where a general term is put first and a particular form of it follows. The title was 'pater patriae.' Cicero was honored by Catulus and Cato addressing him as 'parens patriae.' 'And at that time,' Juvenal adds, 'they were free.' He means that afterwards, when they gave it to Augustus and to other emperors after him, they were not free. By Leucas he means the battle of Actium, which place was about thirty miles north of the island of Leucas or Leucadia. The other battle referred to is Philippi, which was in Thrace, but was included in the province of Macedonia. 'Thessaliae campis' therefore is an inaccuracy, probably arising from a confusion of Philippi with Pharsalia which Juvenal shares with other authors. See Merivale, iii. 170, note 2. The original name of Augustus was C. Octavius; but he dropped this at his great uncle's death, and then he became C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, to which the title of Augustus was added, B.C. 27.

242. *Octavius abstulit*] The 'non' which belongs to this clause must be supplied from the preceding.

245. *Arpinus alius*] This was C. Marius, who was also born at Arpinum of poor parents. He served in the cavalry at the siege of Numantia under Scipio Africanus Minor. His military abilities raised him to high estate, and he married a great lady, Julia, the aunt of him who was afterwards the Dictator, C. Caesar. The vine switch was commonly used for military floggings; and he says Marius had the switch broken over his head if he did his work lazily, which he was not likely to do.

248. *muniret castra dolabra.*] Although a body of 'fabri,' 'engineers,' was attached to every Roman army, each ordinary foot soldier carried a hatchet, an axe, a saw, a basket, a mattock, a knife, a leather strap, and a chain, besides a stake for intrenchments and three days' provision. 'Securis,' the hatchet, was a distinct thing from 'dolabra,' which was a hatchet on one side, but had a pick on the other. On the subjunctive, see A. 59, 5, *b*; M. 359; H. 486, 5.

249. *Hic tamen et Cimbros*] For about six years the Romans were kept in a state of great alarm by barbarian tribes from the north, among whom the Cimbri were the most important. Marius was recalled from Africa to oppose them. In B.C. 102, in his fourth consulship, he defeated and utterly destroyed the army of the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (Aix, near Marseille); and in the following year, being again consul, he and Q. Lutatius Catulus defeated the Cimbri

on a plain called Campi Raudii, near Vercellae in Gallia Cisalpina. Plutarch records that there was more credit given to Marius than to Catulus, though the soldiers of Catulus had done more to get the victory. He adds that the soldiers were prepared to prevent his triumph, if Catulus were not allowed to share it. Marius had the title of third founder of Rome given him on this occasion.

251. *postquam ad Cimbros*] This is only a way of saying after the battle. The greater part of the army was cut to pieces on the field. It is said that about 120,000 fell and 60,000 were made prisoners; but probably there is great exaggeration in the numbers.

254. *Plebeiae Deciorum animae,*] The Decii were, as Juvenal says, a plebeian family, but a very old one, for at the secession of the plebs, B.C. 494, M. Decius was one of the deputies sent by them to treat with the senate. P. Decius Mus was the first consul of the family, B.C. 380; in that year he commanded the Roman forces, in conjunction with his colleague, T. Manlius Torquatus, in the Latin War. He devoted himself to death in battle, and thereby secured the victory to the Romans. His son, who had the same name, acted as his father had done, B.C. 295, at the battle of Sentinum against the Gauls. His son also was consul B.C. 279, and commanded in the war against Pyrrhus. At the battle of Asculum it was given out that he meant to devote himself as the others had done; and to prevent a panic in his own army Pyrrhus gave orders that he should be taken alive.

259. *Ancilla natus*] This is Servius Tullius; see vii. 199. The 'trabea' was a white toga with waving stripes of purple embroidered on it. It differed from the 'praetexta,' which had only a single border of purple round the edges. It was supposed to have been worn by the kings. 'Diadema' was a band, originally no doubt of plain materials, which was worn by the kings of Rome, and is found on busts of Bacchus. It was afterwards highly ornamented with gold and precious stones. Tullius was succeeded by Tarquinius Superbus, and so is not called the last king, but the last good king. Tullius is said to have earned the throne, that is by his bravery and the virtues he showed while exercising the power given him by his father-in-law Tarquinius Priscus during his lifetime.

261. *Prodita laxabant*] He refers to Titus and Tiberius Junius Brutus, sons of Brutus the first consul, who were in the conspiracy for restoring Tarquinius Superbus, and who were scourged and put to death by the sentence and under the eyes of their own father. The conspirators met at supper and their conversation was betrayed by one of the slaves to the consuls. Juvenal says they ought to have been distinguishing themselves in the strengthening of liberty only partially established, and exciting the admiration of such men as Horatius Cocles (who defended the bridge), Mucius Scaevola (who put his hand in the fire before King Porsena, having vowed with 300 others to kill him), and Cloelia who, being a prisoner with other women in Porsena's camp, swam across the Tiber, and escaped. The imperfect 'laxabant' denotes attempted action. See A. 58, 3, *c*; H. 469, II., 1; B. 1089.

267. *Matronis lugendus:*] The slave deserved to be mourned after his death by matrons, while the young men were justly punished with stripes and the axe. Juvenal says the blows and the axe were the first ordered by the 'leges,' which name therefore he refuses to the king's laws. Under the republic 'leges' properly were only such laws as were passed at the 'comitia centuriata' or 'tributa.'

270. *Vulcaniaque arma capessas,*] 'And handle the armor of Vulcan as he did.' 'Similiter' may be supplied from 'similis.' Aeacus was the grandfather of Achilles.

272. *Et tamen, ut longe repetas*] 'And yet, be what you may, trace back your name as far as you can, still you can but get back to Romulus's asylum,' which Livy says was the first foundation of the Roman power. The verbs in verse 272 are in the concessive subjunctive. See A. 57, 5, and 61, 2; H. 516, II.; B. 1282–3. 'Revolvas' has reference to a scroll on which a man's pedigree might be written, a 'stemma' (verse 1).

SATIRE X.

THE subject of this Satire is the vanity of human wishes. It takes general ground; but its meaning is brought home by examples and the mode of treatment so as to touch the generation for which it was written. In caustic power, in brilliancy of language, in variety as well as originality, it is unequalled by any imitation. The serious lines at the end are in Juvenal's best style, which is that of a man thoroughly in earnest. The Satire is one of the most entertaining and instructive of all.

ARGUMENT. — In all the world few can tell good from its opposite. We pray for what must hurt us; our ruin comes at our own desire (1–11). Many love money; but it caused the death of Longinus and Seneca. The poor man is not afraid of robbers or of poisoned cups (12–27). The old sages did well, both he who always laughed and he who always wept. What would Democritus have done if he had lived in our day and seen the praetor going to the games (28–53)? Some are undone by their power and their rolls of honor. See how the statues of Sejanus are pulled down, and how all men hate him as soon as the wordy letter has come from Tiberius! Would you take his place? You had better be a country aedile. Ambition ruins those who seek for power (54–113). Boys pray for the eloquence of Demosthenes or Cicero; but it was this that killed them both. Had Cicero always written bad poetry, he might have mocked the swords of Antonius; had Demosthenes been kept at the forge, he would have escaped a cruel death (114–132). Some desire the spoils of war and

its honors. These honors will be carved on a tomb, and the tomb itself will perish. How much is left of Hannibal now? No triumph was great enough for him; but he became a beggar, and was laid low by a poisoned ring. One world was not enough for Alexander; but when he came to Babylon a coffin satisfied him. Xerxes bridged the sea and drank up rivers, flogged the winds and chained Neptune; yet he went back from Salamis with one ship over a sea covered with the corpses of his men (133–187). Some pray for long life. But age is full of ills; old men are a burden to themselves and to their friends. They have no enjoyments; they suffer from every kind of disease; they do not know their friends, or if they have their senses they pass their days in mourning for the dead. See how it was with Nestor mourning for Achilles, and Priam beholding his country's ashes, and Marius exiled and begging where he was late a victor (188–288). Mothers pray for beauty for their children. Lucretia and Virginia show the foolishness of such a wish. Chastity and beauty rarely go together. Be not proud of your boy's looks; such a danger awaits him as befell Hippolytus or Bellerophon. See how Silius paid dear for beauty when Messalina resolved to marry him in open day. Either way, he was sure of losing his head (289–345). Leave it to the gods, then, to decide what is best for you. Ask only for a healthy body and a healthy mind; a tranquil life lies in the path of virtue (346–366).

3. *illis multum diversa,*] "True blessings from those things which are far different from true blessings;" a euphemism. 'The mist of error' is an expression common to all languages.

4. *Quid enim ratione timemus*] 'Ratione' is 'under the guidance of reason' (see A. 54, 7, *b*; H. 414, 3); 'dexter pes' is explained to be 'felix accessus, adventus boni ominis.'

7. *optantibus ipsis*] That is, by granting men their desires, which are short-sighted and sure to bring mischief (nocitura). The opposition of 'toga' and 'militia' is common. The particular ambition expressed in 'toga' is shown in what follows; it is public honors, to which men rise by their eloquence only to perish. 'Ille' refers to the soldier. 'Evertere' and 'periit' have the sense of the aorist. The other dies because he trusts his own strength. and because men admire his arms. The final syllable of 'periit' is lengthened by its position in the arsis.

13. *Strangulat,*] There is a story of Midas's food turning to gold and choking him, which Juvenal may have had in mind. Whales probably came as far south as Britain more commonly then than they do now. 'Tanto' is omitted before 'quanto.'

16. *Longinum et magnos Senecae*] Cassius Longinus was a jurist of eminence and a man of wealth, which he had got by inheritance and probably increased during his government of Syria. Nero coveted his money and was jealous of his reputation, and got a senatus consultum passed by which he was banished to Sardinia A.D. 66. He was recalled by Vespasian. The death of Seneca is referred to above (viii. 212, n.). Through the favor of Nero, who was his pupil, he acquired

enormous wealth, which he offered to the emperor as a gift at a time when he knew that his enemies were successfully conspiring against him. Within four years of Nero's accession he was said to have amassed 300,000 sestertia, which is nearly $12,000,000. He was returning from Campania, and had stopped at his villa four miles from Rome, when a tribune was sent by Nero to obtain his answer to the charge on which his life depended. The tribune entered while Seneca was at dinner with his wife and two friends, having first placed a guard round the house, which Juvenal here refers to. Plautius Lateranus, like Seneca, was put to death as a party to Piso's conspiracy against Nero. He was consul designatus. The change of tense in 'obsidet' seems to be for metrical reasons alone. Juvenal applies to all three what is strictly true of Seneca alone.

19. *argenti vascula puri,*] 'Argentum purum' is silver without any figures or chasing.

23. *Prima fere vota*] "The first and most familiar prayers." 'Opes' here is simply wealth. 'Ut maxima toto nostra sit arca foro' means that each wishes to have the largest balance in his banker's hands. The 'argentarii' carried on their business in the forum. Those who had considerable deposits with them, it appears, had each his own cash-box. 'Ut' introduces an object clause. See A. 70, 3, *a*; H. 492, 8.

27. *Setinum*] 'Ardebit' applies to the brightness of the wine, not its spirit.

28. *Jamne igitur laudas,*] "Do you not after this think it well that of the sages one," etc. The laugher was Democritus of Abdera; the weeper, Heracleitus. The former flourished at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.; the latter a little earlier, at Ephesus. The enclitic 'ne' seems to be used in the sense of 'nonne,' though the grammars (H. 346, II., 1, 1; M. 451, *a*; Z. 352) allow it only the meaning of 'num' when added to any other word than the verb. See verse 90, where it is joined to the verb, and certainly seems to have the force of 'num.'

31. *Sed facilis cuivis rigidi*] He says any one can laugh; the only wonder is where the weeper got all his tears. 'Rigidi cachinni' is a hard sardonic laugh; the genitive is appositional. See iii. 4, n.

35. *Praetexta et trabeae,*] As to these, which were the togas worn by senators and magistrates, see viii. 259, n. He says in those cities in which Democritus spent his time and his wit, there were none of the great abuses of the present time, the iniquities and self-indulgence of the great and rich, and the corruption of justice.

36. *Praetorem curribus altis*] See viii. 194, n. He is giving a mock description of the Ludi Circenses, which the praetor presided over. These were preceded by a grand procession, in which the praetor rode in a triumphal chariot with all the insignia of a triumph. What follows is a description of a triumph. 'Tunica Jovis' was a tunic worn only on triumphal occasions; it was kept in the Capitol, and had its name from this. It was also called 'tunica palmata,' either because it was embroidered with palm branches, or because it had a stripe (clavus) a palm in breadth. 'Sarrana' is Tyrian, that is 'purple.'

'Pictae' is 'embroidered.' 'Aulaea' (properly used for curtains or hanging tapestry) is a satirical way of describing the large folds of the triumphal toga. Besides a crown of laurel which he wore on his head, a crown of gold set with jewels was carried in the chariot by a public slave. 'Servi publici' were slaves belonging to the state and employed for public purposes, of which attendance upon magistrates on official occasions was one. Juvenal says the slave rode in the same chariot with the consul, of course (quippe) to lower his pride. Whether founded on these ironical words or some vulgar error, Tertullian states that the slave's business was to whisper certain words in the ear of the great man reminding him that he was a mortal. 'Consul' is substituted for 'praetor' (verse 41), as more suited to a triumph. The person who triumphed carried an ivory sceptre in his left hand with an eagle at the top of it, and a branch of laurel in his right. 'Da nunc et' means 'add to this.' A band of trumpeters (cornicines) formed part of the procession, and the man's sons and principal friends accompanied him, together with senators and other magistrates and military officers. By 'niveos' he means that their togas were white. On all festivals those who wished to make a respectable appearance sent their togas to the 'fullo' to have an extra whitening. 'Longi agminis officia' is equivalent to 'longum agmen officiosorum;' 'servitium,' 'conjugium,' 'remigium,' and other words, are used in the same way. 'Officio fungi' was a common expression for attendance upon great people. The men who waited on the praetor were his friends in virtue of the dole they carried off every day (i. 95, n.). He says they buried it in their bag.

50. *Vervecum in patria*] The people of Abdera were proverbial for dulness, like the Boeotians. 'Vervex,' a wether, was as commonly as a hog taken for the type of stupidity. 'Nec non et' is not classical. See iii. 204, n.

52. *Fortunae ipse minaci*] "He could laugh at the troubles of others, for even if Fortune threatened himself he could bid her go and be hanged, and point the finger of scorn at her." The middle finger was so used, and was commonly called 'famosus' in consequence, as the first was called 'index' and the third 'medicus.'

54. *Ergo supervacua aut*] This is the reading of the MSS. with one exception, which has 'vel.' The editors have mended the verse in different ways; but it must be taken as an instance of caesural hiatus, of which there are many in Juvenal, the *a* being made long in the arsis. 'Ergo' is, 'as I was saying, then,' or 'to proceed, then,' and he lays it down as a matter of experience that what men ask of the gods is generally useless or mischievous. He has given some instances, and he goes on to dwell on the vanity of power, as shown by the fate of those who have had it.

55. *Propter quae fas est*] 'Fas' seems to mean 'religious.' 'Incerare' is taken from the practice of writing prayers and vows on waxed tablets, and hanging them on the statue of the god to whom they were addressed.

58. *Pagina;*] The Scholiast explains this as a bronze tablet which is placed before these busts, and sets forth all their honors. 'Mergit'

is 'drowns him,' as 'praecipitat' is 'throws him down head foremost.' As to 'descendunt statuae,' see viii. 18. We have had reference before to triumphal chariots (vii. 125, viii. 3).

61. *Jam stridunt ignes,*] He goes on to illustrate his case by the example of Sejanus. That man was son of Seius Strabo, commander of the praetorian troops, which brought him into early intimacy with Tiberius. From the time that Tiberius became emperor A.D. 14 till A.D. 31, Sejanus was his chief favorite and the adviser of some of his worst crimes. He was ambitious of the imperial power, and his designs became known to or suspected by Tiberius, who in A.D. 31 wrote from Capreae such a letter to the Senate concerning Sejanus as to lead to his execution. His statues were forthwith pulled down, his body was thrown down the Gemoniae (a precipice on the Aventine), and torn to pieces by the populace, and the remains were dragged about the streets, and then thrown into the Tiber. See Merivale, v. 94–238.

63. *ex facie toto orbe secunda*] Dion Cassius says that bronze statues were erected to Sejanus on an equality with Tiberius in every direction; they were represented in pictures together; gilded chariots were brought into the theatres in honor of both alike; they were voted joint consuls for five years; it was decreed that they should be met with equal honors whenever they entered Rome, and sacrifices were offered before the images of Sejanus as before those of Tiberius. Out of the bronze statues of the man so honored, Juvenal says, were made little jugs, basins, kettles, and pans or platters.

65. *Pone domi lauros,*] This decorating the doors with wreaths was common on joyful occasions. A white ox was the most acceptable sacrifice, and it appears that the dark parts of the animal, his horns, hoofs, and any spots about him, were whitened with chalk. It was common for the public executioner to drag the bodies of criminals through the streets.

67. *Quae labra! quis illi*] People all rejoice at his death, and make remarks on his diabolical features. Yet, while they hate the man, they tremble at the tyranny by which he perished, without trial or proof of guilt. 'Index' is an accomplice turned informer, and 'indicium' is the testimony of such an one. 'Delator' is a common informer. 'Cecidit' is used as in iv. 12. 'Delator' must be supplied as the subject of 'probavit.'

71. *verbosa et grandis epistola*] See Merivale, v. 225. Tiberius left Rome A.D. 26, and never returned to the city. In the following year he took up his residence in the island of Capreae (see below, 93, n.), where he lived six years in almost total retirement, admitting none but informers and chosen favorites to his presence, but holding constant communication by letter with the Senate.

72. *Bene habet; nil plus*] This stops the man's mouth, and he says it is all right; he asks no more questions, like Agamemnon's soldier in Horace (S. ii. 3, 187).

73. *Turba Remi?*] The poets used Remus's name instead of his brother's when it suited their metre.

74. *si Nurtia Tusco Favisset*] Sejanus was an Etrurian by descent,

and born at Vulsinii. Nurtia was an Etruscan goddess especially worshipped in that city.

75. *si oppressa foret secura*] "If the old emperor had been caught asleep." The way of speaking, 'senectus Principis' for 'senex Princeps,' is not unusual. But the old emperor was wide awake to the end of his life. Augustus (Σεβαστὸς) was a title of all the emperors. Notice that the condition denotes past time, and the conclusion present time: "would now be hailing him Augustus."

77. *ex quo suffragia nulli*] "From the time we left off selling votes;" that is, since the elections were transferred from the Comitia to the Senate. See on viii. 212. The subject of 'effudit curas' is 'Turba Remi' (verse 73). It means they have cast away all care about public affairs; all they now care for is their belly and the Circus. 'Panem' is commonly referred to the public distribution of corn; but I think that the remark applied to all, whether they were of the sort who wanted the public dole or not.

81. *Perituros audio multos.*] One says he hears many are to share Sejanus's fate, and another answers there is no doubt of it; there is a great furnace ready (referring to verse 61). A great many friends of Sejanus, including his son and his daughter, a young girl, were put to death soon after him.

83. *ad Martis fuit obvius aram.*] This altar of Mars was in the Campus Martius. There is a Brutidius Niger, whom Tacitus mentions as aedile in A.D. 22, and as one of the accusers of Silanus. He may be the person the speaker refers to as looking a little pale. Under the character of Ajax, enraged with the leaders and the army for not taking his part against Ulysses, the man means Tiberius, who in his letter to the Senate expressed great alarm, and begged them to send one of the consuls with a guard to conduct him, a poor solitary old man, to their presence. These apprehensions, whether real or pretended, the Senate might well fear would be visited on them, and they hastened to remove the cause of them, and everybody connected with him, with an alacrity which was to make amends for their implied remissness. This was what Niger had to fear, and is clearly Juvenal's meaning.

87. *Sed videant servi,*] He says our slaves must see us do it, that none of them may be able to say we did not, and give information under which we shall be dragged with a rope about our necks to the praetor. In the reign of Tiberius and afterwards the information of slaves against their masters, which was illegal, was freely received and obtained by torture. Nerva put a stop to the practice, and checked informers generally. It was the common way of taking a resisting culprit before the magistrate to put a rope round his neck.

88. *Hi sermones*] That is to say, what precedes. What follows is addressed to the reader, who is asked if he would like to have all the power and honor that Sejanus had. The curule officers, or those entitled to the use of the 'sella curulis,' were the consuls, censors, praetors, and curule aediles. 'Summas' does not mean the consulship in particular; it applies to all. As to the use of 'ne' in 'visne,' see on verse 28. On 'illi'—'illum,' see Z. 701, note.

93. *angusta Caprearum*] Capreae is an island forming a continuation of the promontory of Surrentum and three miles distant from it. It is about eleven miles in circumference, and precipitous on almost all sides. One point of it rises 1600 feet above the sea. Augustus retired to this place sometimes, and Tiberius made it his retreat that he might carry on his debaucheries uninterrupted, and be free from danger. The climate Tacitus describes as very pleasant in summer and winter, and the prospect over the bay of Naples as beautiful.

94. *Cum grege Chaldaeo?*] Tiberius towards the end of his life was much given to the astrologers, a pestilent race of impostors whom he had before punished and forbidden the city. Superstition and vice grew upon him together; a common case.

Vis certe pila, cohortes,] He says, no doubt you like promotion, and why should you not? He takes different grades of military rank to illustrate his meaning. The steps are 'primipilus centurio,' 'praefectus cohorti,' 'eques egregius,' and 'praefectus praetorio.' As late as the time of Polybius the infantry of a Roman legion were formed into three bodies, 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii,' or 'pilani,' as they were sometimes called, because they carried a pilum or short javelin. Each of these divisions was subdivided into 'manipuli,' and the centurion of the first 'manipulus' of the 'triarii,' who were veteran troops, was called 'primipilus.' 'Pila' here stands for 'primipili.' In and after the time of Caesar the legion was divided into ten cohorts, each of which consisted of three 'manipuli.' The commander of a cohort was 'praefectus.' 'Equites egregii,' under the Empire, were those who had the fortune of a senator, or were entitled by their position to hope for the Senate, and these were allowed to wear the 'latus clavus,' or broad stripe on the tunic, which was the mark of senatorial rank. By 'domestica castra' he means the command of the 'praetoria cohors' (see 61, note). These troops were quartered in various parts of the city till Sejanus had command of them, when they were all placed in permanent quarters near the Agger of Servius Tullius.

97. *Sed quae praeclara*] "But what are great distinctions and high prosperity if we hold them only on the understanding that the measure of our sufferings is proportioned to our success?" Some editors read 'tanti' for 'tantum;' it is then the genitive of value, and the construction of the sentence is much simplified. 'Ut' in either case introduces a result.

100. *An Fidenarum Gabiorumque*] See note on iii. 192: "Simplicibus Gabiis." Fidenae was about five miles north of Rome on the Tiber. Ulubrae was in Latium, nearly thirty miles south-east of Rome. 'Potestas' is the modern 'podestà,' 'authority.' 'Vacuis' is 'empty,' 'unfrequented,' as in iii. 2. As to the municipal aediles, see iii. 179. They were police magistrates, and looked after the market. On great occasions, he says, a white tunic was a dress good enough for them; here he speaks of them as in rags.

103. *Ergo quid optandum foret*] 'Ergo' carries us back to verse 54, where the general assertion is made of which Sejanus was a notable

illustration. On the form of the verb, see M. 377, obs. 2; B. 279, obs. 3; Z. 156, end. 'Ignorasse fateris' implies that the answer is that which good sense suggests.

107. *impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.*] 'Praeceps' is often used absolutely for a precipitous height; there is no instance of an adjective agreeing with it earlier than Juvenal. 'Ruinae' is the genitive case. The English is "he went on building story after story of an exceeding high tower, only that his fall might be from a greater height, and the tumbling of the ruin, beaten by the storm (or, struck by the bolt or lightning), should be great." 'Impulsae' is added to 'ruinae,' as if it were 'turris,' and it means the wreck of a tower beaten by the storm. The imperfect tense in the verbs of this sentence is that of contemporary action; see M. 337.

108. *Quid Crassos, quid Pompeios*] He here joins together the three persons who are often improperly called a triumvirate, M. Licinius Crassus, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and C. Julius Caesar. The first was killed in war with the Parthians, B.C. 53. In B.C. 55 he had been consul with Pompeius, who was killed while going to land on the coast of Egypt after the battle of Pharsalia (B.C. 48). Caesar is described as the man who tamed the Romans and brought them under his lash. The plural in 'Crassos' and 'Pompeios' does not imply more than one of each, as in i. 109 and elsewhere. The grammars do not notice this use of the plural.

110. *Summus nempe locus*] This is the subject of 'evertit.' "Of course it was the elevation they had sought by every art to win, and their ambitious prayers heard too well by the unkind gods." 'Generum Cereris' is Pluto, the husband of Proserpina. 'Reges' and 'tyranni' explain one another. 'Sicca morte' is an unbloody death.

115. *totis Quinquatribus optat,*] He goes on to illustrate what he said in verse 9 about eloquence. The Quinquatria was a festival of Minerva, held for six days in March. Boys had holidays during this festival, and offered their devotions to the goddess of learning. The boy is said to worship Minerva with an as, because it was customary to present that sum to the teacher at the Quinquatria. This payment was called 'Minerval.'

117. *custos angustae vernula capsae.*] A little slave, carrying his little box of books and paper and pens, went with the boy to school. He was called 'capsarius.' The 'capsa' was a round box suited for holding rolled books.

118. *uterque perit orator;*] 'Perit' with long ultima is for 'periit.'

120. *Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa,*] This refers to the death of Cicero, B.C. 43. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, and, as he was trying to escape, was overtaken by soldiers, who cut off his head and hands and carried them to M. Antonius, who ordered them to be nailed to the rostra. On 'causidicus,' see i. 32, n. 'Ingenio' is put for the man, as 'officia' above (verse 45). Cicero reached the highest point of his popularity, and delivered his last ten speeches against M. Antonius in the year in which he died.

122. *O fortunatam*] This verse of Cicero's has been well imitated by Gifford:

"How fortunate a natal day was thine,
In that late consulate, O Rome, of mine!"

Juvenal says if he had never said a better thing than that he might have snapped his fingers at Antonius, quoting his own words (Phil. ii. 46): "Contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos." On the use of 'potuit,' consult A. 59, 3, *e*; H. 512, 2, 1; B. 1274. The preceding verse might be taken as the subject of this verb, by a not uncommon figure, a man's way of speaking being put for the man himself. He adds, he would rather have been the author of his ridiculous poetry than of that Philippic which he calls divine, famous, and so forth. This speech was written in September, B.C. 44, as a rejoinder to Antonius's reply to the first Philippic. Cicero did not attend the meeting of the Senate at which Antonius spoke, and though this speech professes to be an extemporaneous reply, it was never delivered, but written in the country, nor did Cicero venture to publish it immediately. 'Volveris' means 'you are read;' 'a prima proxima' is a way of expressing the second.

126. *illum Exitus eripuit,*] After the death of Alexander, Demosthenes used all his eloquence to produce a general rising of the Greek states against Antipater, the successor to the Macedonian division of Alexander's kingdom, and succeeded. But the resistance of the Greeks was not effectual, and, rather than fall into the hands of Antipater, Demosthenes poisoned himself, B.C. 322.

128. *moderantem fraena theatri.*] The popular assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) were held in the Pnyx, a space of ground near the Areiopagus, till the building of the theatre of Dionysus in the Lenaea, about B.C. 340, after which the assemblies were commonly held in the theatre. It was finished in Demosthenes's time, and he must often have spoken there.

129. *Dis ille adversis*] This is a common way of speaking. Demosthenes's father was a man of property, and died when his son was seven years old. What Juvenal says here therefore is a mere flourish. He was the owner of a sword or knife manufactory, which Juvenal has made the most of.

133. *truncis affixa tropaeis*] His next case is the vanity of military glory. The practice of erecting trophies after victories was very ancient in Greece, and adopted by the Romans late in the republican times. They were composed of arms taken from the enemy and piled up usually on the trunk of a tree or some low wooden frame. 'Bucculae' are the cheeks of a helmet which were buttoned under the chin. 'Buckle' is derived from this word. 'Cassis' is properly a helmet of metal, 'galea' of leather. Some 'galeae' had vizors which covered the face.

135. *Et curtum temone jugum*] A war chariot shorn of its pole. 'Curtum' is not used elsewhere with a noun after it, but it is properly a participle. 'Aplustre' is the curved ornament which most ancient ships carried on their stern, commonly of a fan shape, and not unlike the feathers of a Red Indian chief. Sometimes it was wreathed with flowers, sometimes it carried a flag or a lantern. 'Humanis majora'

corresponds to the Greek μείζω ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. As to the form 'induperator,' see note on iv. 29; 'imperator' cannot be brought into hexameter verse. 'Erexit' and 'habuit' are aorists.

141. *virtutem amplectitur ipsam,*] 'Virtus' is military virtue, 'Fortitudo,' in which character she was frequently represented on medals. 'Olim' is indefinite; it may be rendered here 'many a time.' 'Tollas' is put in the subjunctive because the subject is indefinite. A. 59, 5, *a*; M. 370.

145. *sterilis mala robora ficus:*] The wild fig, 'caprificus,' was common among the tombs.

147. *Expende Hannibalem;*] If you put Hannibal in the scales, how much will this great general weigh? He says below (verse 172) that nothing but death declares how very small are the bodies of men. 'Non capit' means 'is not large enough to hold.' 'Rursus' is 'in the rear,' 're-versus.' The two constructions of 'admovere' are put together here.

151. *Additur imperiis Hispania:*] The conquest of Hispania by the Carthaginians was begun by Hamilcar, Hannibal's father, and Hannibal nearly completed it by the taking of Saguntum, B.C. 219. In that year he declared war against Rome, and in B.C. 218 he crossed the Pyrenees, having first subdued the tribes between the Iberus and those mountains. He commenced his march in the spring, but did not reach the Alps till late in the autumn, after the snow had begun to fall. The story of the vinegar is in Livy, xxi. 37.

155. *Actum, inquit, nihil est,*] This expresses well the object of his whole life; all his successes would go for nothing if he failed to enter Rome in triumph. As to 'Suburra,' see iii. 5, n.

157. *O qualis facies*] "Oh, what a beautiful picture he would have made, a one-eyed general riding on his elephant!" Hannibal lost one of his eyes by ophthalmia, B.C. 217, in the marshes south of the Po.

159. *vincitur idem Nempe*] "He is beaten in his turn, of course;" that is by Scipio at Zama, B.C. 202. After the treaty of peace concluded the next year, Hannibal remained several years at Carthage, and it was not till the year B.C. 193 that, finding himself in danger from enemies at home, he fled secretly and went to Antiochus, King of Syria, with whom he remained three years and helped him against the Romans. When Antiochus was defeated, in B.C. 190, Hannibal fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia. For seven or eight years he continued to be his guest, helping him in his wars, till the Romans finally sent a demand for his surrender, which Prusias was not able to resist. Hannibal, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took poison, which he is said to have carried about with him for that purpose in a ring; therefore Juvenal says a ring was the avenger of Cannae (where so many rings were taken from the bodies of the Roman knights), and of all the blood that Hannibal shed.

167. *et declamatio fias.*] See note on vii. 161.

168. *Unus Pellaeo juveni*] Alexander, it is said, on being told that there were worlds innumerable, lamented that he had not yet conquered even one. He was born at Pella in Macedonia.

170. *Ut Gyari clausus scopulis*] See i. 73, n. Gyarus and Seriphus were islands in the Cyclades group, to which criminals were transported. Seriphus was the larger of the two, and about twelve miles in circumference.

171. *a figulis munitam*] The city of Babylon is said to have been built of brick cemented with asphalt by Semiramis. Here Alexander died, B.C. 323, in his thirty-third year. A 'sarcophagus' was properly a coffin composed of a particular stone from Assos in Troas, which was said to consume the body (σάρκα φαγεῖν).

173. *Quantula sint hominum corpuscula.*] This idea is a favorite one with the poets. The best-known allusion to it is in Shakespeare's Henry IV. P. i. Act v. Sc. 4:

> "Fare thee well, great heart!
> Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!
> When that this body did contain a spirit,
> A kingdom for it was too small a bound;
> But now two paces of the vilest earth
> Is room enough."

174. *Velificatus Athos,*] To avoid the catastrophe that happened to Mardonius, whose fleet was wrecked there in the first expedition of Darius against Greece (B.C. 492), Xerxes ordered the low isthmus of the peninsula (Acte) to be cut through, and a canal was made capable of floating two triremes abreast. This was in B.C. 490. Juvenal treats the matter as an invention; but the canal has been recently traced. The idiom has been noticed before. See A. & S. 274, 2, R. 5; H. 580; B. 1357; A. 72, 3, *a*.

175. *constratum classibus isdem*] This refers to the bridge of boats across the Hellespont, built of the same ships which sailed through Athos. Herodotus speaks of several rivers (the Scamander in Asia, and others in Thrace, Thessaly, and Achaia) being dried up by the enormous host of Xerxes drinking of them. This is easily explained. These rivers are not perennial streams full of water. The army could find water-holes only in many of them, and these they may have exhausted. Sostratus seems to have been a poet who wrote of the exploits of Xerxes. 'Madidis alis' is supposed to mean that he got heated with the exertion of reciting his poetry. This is not a satisfactory explanation, and the words may mean that his flight was not a very vigorous one, 'with drooping wings.'

180. *In Corum atque Eurum*] Corus (or Caurus) is the northwest wind, as Eurus is the southeast. He flogged whatever wind opposed him. This may be a playful invention of Juvenal's, making Xerxes a harder master to the winds than Aeolus himself, who was stern enough according to Virgil. Xerxes's castigation and chaining of the Hellespont for breaking down his bridge are told by Aeschylus and Herodotus. Juvenal produces Homer's epithet for Poseidon, the earth-shaker.

183. *Mitius id sane*] "Surely he acted mercifully not to brand the

god as well as flog him. Any god would be glad to be slave to such a master." Runaway or thievish slaves had a mark put upon their foreheads. If 'quisquam' is to have its usual meaning of excluding all, the clause in which it stands must be read as a question expecting a negative answer. See A. 21, 2, *h*; H. 457; B. 1061. But compare on the other hand A. & S. 207, R. 31, *b*; Z. 709, *b*; Krueger, 428, 2, Anm. 2.

189. *Hoc recto vultu,*] Some take this to mean unabashed and pale with anxiety. Others take 'recto vultu' as 'well,' opposed to 'pallida,' 'ill,' and I think that is the meaning.

192. *deformem pro cute pellem*] 'Cutis' is distinguished from 'pellis' as the living from the dead skin. When 'pellis' is applied to living men and women, it is coarse skin, or withered.

194. *ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,*] Tabraca was a town in Numidia. It was surrounded with jungle, and as usual the woods abounded in monkeys.

202. *Ut captatori*] Cossus may be anybody. He was not easily thrown out in his profession, but this old gentleman is described as so wearisome that even Cossus finds it hard work to come near him. He is a burden to himself as well as to every one else.

204. *nam*] He means that he says nothing of other pleasures long since forgotten. 'Ramex' is hernia or piles.

209. *Aspice partis Nunc damnum*] He goes on to speak of the deafness of age. After 'cantante' (which word is used for instrumental as well as vocal music) 'citharoedo' must be supplied. Compare the arrangement of words in verses 253–4. For the construction, consult M. 429 and obs.; H. 431, 5; A. & S. 257, R. 9. Seleucus must have been some famous singer or musician or actor, but he is not known now.

214. *vix cornicines exaudiet*] Horns and trumpets were sounded at the beginning and the end of games and plays. 'Exaudire' is to hear when there is some obstruction, or from a distance, etc.

216. *quot nunciet horas.*] The hour he would learn from the public sun-dial (solarium) on one of the temples or basilicae, or from a public water-clock (clepsydra).

220. *Promptius expediam*] Of the persons that follow, Hippia was the wife of Veiento, who is mentioned in iii. 185, iv. 113. Themison is a great medical name, which is here taken for some doctor of the day, whose reputation perhaps was in proportion to his victims. The real Themison appears to have been a man of learning and skill. He lived in the first century B.C., and founded a medical sect called Methodici. Basilus was somebody who cheated his partners, and Hirrus a tutor who cheated his wards, either of them a very heinous offence. Maura is called 'longa,' a tall masculine woman. Hamillus is unknown. The lucky barber is mentioned in i. 25.

232. *Ore volat pleno mater jejuna.*] The description of helplessness and fatuity throughout this passage is very good. This little description of the mother-bird bringing food for her young while she is fasting herself is prettily introduced, and relieves the picture while it strengthens it. It is taken from the Iliad.

237. *Heredes vetat esse suos;*] This expression must not be confounded with the legal term 'sui heredes et necessarii,' the connection of 'suos' with the noun being here accidental. A man who had a son in his power (a 'suus heres') must either institute him heres or exheredate (disinherit) him by name. This old man appears to have exheredated his children, and his property to have passed by the testament to Phiale. 'Carcere fornicis' is at the entrance of the brothel, where women exposed themselves.

240. *Ut vigeant sensus animi,*] But suppose he keeps his faculties, still he must see all he loves dying before him. These lines too are very forcible. The clause with 'ut' is concessive. See references on viii. 272.

247. *a cornice secundae.*] Nestor is next to the crow. The number of ages is three. By 'dextra computat annos' he means that he was above a hundred years of age. It was usual to count up to a hundred on the fingers of the left hand, and then to begin with the right. The Venerable Bede is said to have written a treatise on this method of computation. 'Mustum' is new unfermented wine, which would be drunk in autumn. He only means he was happy of course (nimirum) to have seen so many years come round.

252. *nimio de stamine,*] Of the long thread of his life; see note on iii. 27. He wept sore for his son Antilochus, who was killed by Memnon. 'Barbam' implies that he was of mature age. 'Ardentem' means his body burning on the pile.

256. *Haec eadem Peleus,*] 'Alius' is Laertes, father of Ulysses. After the return of Ulysses, Laertes renewed his youth with the help of Athena. 'Natantem' means 'afloat.'

258. *ad umbras Assaraci*] Assaracus was great-uncle of Priam. Juvenal means if Priam had gone to his fathers before the siege of Troy, he would have had a fine funeral, and his sons would have carried him to burial; the women would have wept for him, and his daughters would have led the wailing. Paris's bold ships are the fleet in which he first sailed to Sparta, and then carried off Helen. The death of Priam killed by Pyrrhus at the altar of Jove is related by Virgil. On the gender of 'dies' in verse 265, see A. 13, 2, n.; B. 146, n.; M. 49.

271. *Exitus ille utcunque hominis;*] His death however was the death of a man ('utcunque erat, hominis exitus erat'); whereas his wife Hecuba was changed into a dog. By surviving her husband she lived to be a slave, to witness the death of two more children, Polyxena and Polydorus, and to die a dog.

273. *regem transeo Ponti*] 'Transeo' is not here used as in iii. 114. It means 'I pass over, say nothing about.' The figure of rhetoric is paraleipsis. He is referring to Mithridates VI. Eupator, the great adversary of the Romans, who after a stormy life came to a bad end about the age of seventy. The story of Solon's answer to Croesus is familiar. He bade him call no man happy until he had died. Croesus found that Solon was right; for he fell into the hands of Cyrus and was to be put to death. Then he remembered the sage's words, and cried out "Solon! Solon!" Cyrus asked the meaning of his cries,

and on being told of Solon's words, he spared his prisoner's life, considering that a like calamity might befall himself.

275. *spatia ultima*] This metaphor is taken from the course in the Circus. 'Ultima spatia' was the last circuit: the plural is used because the chariots commonly went more than once round the course (spatium).

276. *Exsilium et carcer*] He goes on to speak of C. Marius, whom we have had before (viii. 245, sqq.) as conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutones, and triumphing on that account, B.C. 102. He was then fifty-five. In B.C. 88, when Marius was in his sixty-ninth year, he was obliged to fly from Rome to escape from Sulla, and in his flight tried to hide himself in a marsh near Minturnae on the Liris. He was caught and kept in custody for some time, but he was allowed to escape by sea, and he went to Carthage, where he is said to have begged his bread among the ruins. The following year, his party having gained temporary success, he was able to return to Rome, where he made a fearful example of his enemies, but died in January, B.C. 86, in his seventh consulship, worn out by a life of extraordinary activity. Sulla, when he returned to Rome, had the ashes of Marius thrown into the Anio.

281. *Bellorum pompa*] The final vowel in 'pompa' is preserved from elision. 'Animam opimam' may be rendered 'his full soul,' but an exact rendering is not to be found. It seems to involve a reference to the 'spolia opima,' and is particularly suited to a conqueror. 'Vellet' is used like *ἔμελλεν*.

283. *Provida Pompeio dederat*] In the year B.C. 50, Pompeius, then at the height of his fortunes, was attacked by a severe illness at Neapolis. Prayers and sacrifices were offered for his recovery; he did recover, and the cities offered thanksgivings and had a holiday on the occasion. Next year Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Pompeius had to fly for his life, and in the following year (B.C. 48) lost it. 'Vincere' is the usual word for prevailing in prayer.

286. *Hoc cruciatu Lentulus,*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura and C. Cornelius Cethegus were left behind by Catilina when he left Rome, to carry out the conspiracy, fire the city, and kill the senators. They were betrayed and taken, and pursuant to a vote of the Senate they were strangled in prison by the common executioner on the night of the 5th of December, B.C. 63. Catilina was pursued, and, being unable to escape, he engaged the regular troops with his small undisciplined army, and was killed, B.C. 62.

290. *Murmure, quum Veneris fanum*] The mother prays that her children may be beautiful; the prayer is suppressed with a murmur, but when she comes to pray for the girls her eagerness almost breaks out into audible words. There were temples or chapels of Venus in various parts of the city. 'Usque ad delicias votorum' seems to mean 'even to fastidiousness in her prayers.' She will not be content with any thing short of perfection.

294. *Rutilae Virginia gibbum*] Rutila is any one with a hump on her back. The examples of Lucretia and Virginia are both happily

chosen. Purer examples of womanhood are not upon record. Their only fault was beauty. After 'suam,' 'faciem' or 'formam' is easily supplied.

299. *veteres imitata Sabinos,*] A similar allusion to the Sabines is found in Horace. The strictness of their life was proverbial. 'Horrida' is equivalent to 'rigida,' 'severa.'

300. *modesto Sanguine ferventem*] "Hot with modest blood" is a good way of expressing a blush. Instead of 'non licet esse viros' we generally find 'non licet eos esse viros' or the more classical 'non licet eis esse viris.' See A. 57, *e*, 1; H. 547, II.; B. 676; A. & S. 269, R. 5; M. 393, *c* and obs. 1, and 389, obs. 5.

306. *Nullus ephebum*] 'Ephebus,' borrowed from the Greek, is a youth just after he has taken the 'toga virilis' (adolescens); 'praetextatus' is a boy who has not yet taken it. 'Arce' is the emperor's palace.

310. *I nunc*] This is a favorite way of speaking with Juvenal. He says, "Go now and be proud of your son's beauty, seeing that it only involves him in the greater danger."

313. *nec erit felicior astro Martis,*] This is an uncommon construction, but the meaning is his star will not prove luckier than that of Mars, who was caught in adultery with Venus by Vulcan, and entangled in a fine chain net, and so exposed to the laughter of the gods. 'Ut' introduces a concessive clause, as in verse 240.

318. *Sed tuus Endymion*] The boy's decline is thus traced: he is chaste and modest at first; his parents sell him to the lust of men; when he is old enough he falls into an intrigue with a married woman for love; he is drawn away from her by a richer woman, and so ends in selling his beauty for money, and from a pure boy becomes not only a profligate, but a greedy one. Oppia and Catulla seem to be opposed as rich and poor, or high and low.

323. *Deterior totos*] This verse seems to mean that the character of the unchaste woman is all centred in this, that is in the gratification of her lust.

324. *Sed casto quid forma nocet?*] He has just shown that beauty is the first step to unchastity. But he now adds, "suppose he retains his chastity, what harm will his beauty do then?" And he answers the question himself — "nay, rather, what good did Hippolytus's stern resolve do him?" He resisted the advances of his stepmother Phaedra, who was the daughter of Minos, king of Crete, and so is called Cressa. Bellerophon was tempted by Stheneboea, or as some say Antea, and when he resisted her she charged him to her husband Proetus, as Potiphar's wife charged Joseph. 'Haec,' as is easily seen, though it is not expressed, refers to Phaedra, who is called Cressa from her birthplace. She blushed when she was refused who had no shame in asking.

328. *Concussere ambae.*] This means that they were excited to madness. 'Pudor,' in this sense, is outraged modesty.

329. *Elige quidnam*] "Choose what advice you think should be given to him whom Caesar's wife resolves to marry." Messalina, the young wife of Claudius, was enamoured of one C. Silius, a plebeian (Juvenal is wrong in verse 332), and she took occasion of the Em-

peror's absence in Ostia to marry him publicly, A.D. 48. Tacitus says Silius (whom Messalina induced to put away his wife) was not ignorant of the greatness of the sin or of the danger, but being certain of death if he rejected her, and having some hope of escaping discovery, at the same time attracted by the great prizes within his reach, he consoled himself with waiting for the future and enjoying the present moment. The intrigue was carried on without any concealment on the part of Messalina; but according to Tacitus it was Silius who proposed to her that they should marry, and she with some reluctance, fearing lest she should lose her hold upon him, consented. It suits Juvenal's purpose to give a different version of the story, or he may have heard and believed what he says, that the man had no choice but compliance or death. The whole matter is well discussed by Merivale, v. 425–436, who should by all means be consulted here.

332. *rapitur miser exstinguendus*] He is hurried to his death by Messalina's eyes; 'oculis' depends on both. With 'decies centena' we must supply 'sestertia' or 'millia sestertium.' 'Ritu antiquo' refers to the 'dos,' not to the amount of it. The 'signatores' were witnesses to the marriage contract. The 'auspices' were probably in attendance at marriages of importance, or at the signing of the contract, and went through some formula. They declared whether the day was fortunate.

339. *ante lucernas*:] Before dark. If he consented he would get a short delay till a scandal known to all the town should reach the ears of the emperor, who was at Ostia when this monstrous transaction occurred. On the form of the conditional sentence, see A. 59, 4, *b* and R.; H. 511, II., 1; B. 1271. The courtiers were in much perplexity as to how they should act for their own safety; and finally the marriage was reported to Claudius through two of his concubines. After a good deal of hesitation Claudius ordered the death of Silius, who died without fear. Messalina would have escaped if Narcissus had not pretended the emperor's orders and caused her to be put to death. When the emperor was informed that she was dead he asked no questions, but called for his wine and went to dinner.

345. *candida cervix.*] Decapitation and strangling were the common way of executing criminals, except the lowest and slaves, who were crucified. 'Putaris' in the preceding verse is the subjunctive of concession. It does not depend upon 'quidquid.'

354. *Ut tamen et poscas*] "You had better not ask any thing; but suppose you must ask something, let it be a healthy mind and a healthy body, a stout heart, patient and content." 'Et' is used for emphasis, as the Greeks used *καί*. 'Sacellis' means the chapel every man had in his house, in which were images of the Lares, to whom the offering of a pig was common. 'Tomacula' is minced meat, derived from *τέμνω*. 'Fortem' implies resolution in keeping the right course, moral courage and consistency; a heart which while it counts death a boon is able to bear patiently the hard task of living. 'Pluma' means feather beds or pillows.

358. *spatium . . extremum*] See on verse 275.

363. *Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare:*] "What I direct you to, you can get for yourself, for it is certain that the only path of life in which peace is known lies through virtue." Virtue is therefore represented as a happy land through which they who pass in the journey of life are at peace.

365. *Nullum numen abest*] He says it is only we, we men, who have made a goddess of Fortune. Prudence (providentia) makes us independent of her, and the gods are all on the side of the provident. Some MSS. have 'habes' for 'abest.'

SATIRE XI.

JUVENAL invites his friend, whom he calls Persicus, to dinner, and prepares him for plain fare by observations on the conduct of those who with small means affect the indulgences of the rich, and who squander the little they have upon their belly. The time is that of the Megalesian festival in honor of Cybele, that is in April, and Juvenal was not young when he wrote. The composition is in Horace's style, without any appearance of imitation. The subject is not large, and there is no great variety of treatment. But as a picture of domestic manners, and of a household of the better sort, the Satire is pleasing. The principal commonplace is sensibly put, the simplicity of the olden time is described in a graphic way, there is heartiness in the invitation, and the occasion is marked with dramatic distinctness in the concluding lines.

ARGUMENT. — If a rich man lives well, he is called generous; if a poor man does so, he is deemed mad, and all laugh at him. Yet it is the poorest who live the best, search every element for dainties, and sell every thing in order to season their dishes well (1–20). It makes a difference who does all this; we need to learn the lesson which came down from heaven, "KNOW THYSELF." Take your own measure, and go by it in all things. See to what you may come — beggary, and retreat from the city, shamelessly running away from your creditors (21–55). To-day you shall see whether I practise what I preach. I shall be Evander to your Hercules or Aeneas. You shall dine on the products of my farm (56–76). So lived our senators long ago. The food of Curius would be scorned by the workman now. In those times a man of high rank would walk to a feast with his spade over his shoulder. No one then asked for fanciful ornaments; every thing was simple (77–99). They cared not then for art; all their silver was on their arms. Then the gods were nearer men. They were not unwilling to eat from plain wooden tables; men of our day will scarce touch those of silver (100–129). My guest must not despise poverty. I have

no ivory, no trained carver, no sleek waiting-boys, no wanton dancing-girls. Our sport is reading Homer and Virgil (129–182). Come, put away cares, and have a rest; forget debts, jealousies, and troubles. All Rome has flocked to the Circus, and the games are going on successfully. To-day we may go early to the bath; but we must not do so every day of the feast; pleasures are sweeter for infrequent use (183–208).

1. *Atticus eximie si coenat*] Atticus was the cognomen of many persons of high family and distinction under the empire. The name might be proverbial for wealth from the enormous fortune of T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero. Rutilus is a cognomen found in several families, both patrician and plebeian. The owner of it here had run through his fortune. 'Lautus' is here a munificent person who lives well, but has means in proportion. 'Excipitur' means 'is taken up,' as we say. As to Apicius, see iv. 23, n.

4. *Convictus, thermae, stationes,*] In all companies there is talk of Rutilus. 'Loquuntur' is understood. 'Convictus' is equivalent to 'convivia' here, and in other writers of the empire. 'Thermae' are the baths, where a great deal of gossip went on. Places of public resort, where people gathered for conversation, to meet friends and so forth, as we do where bands play, were called 'stationes.'

6. *Sufficiunt galeae*] He means that while he might be doing his country service in the field, he prefers letting himself to the 'lanista.' 'Est' must be supplied after 'ardens.'

7. *Non cogente quidem*] 'Tribuno' seems to be put for the emperor. Augustus prohibited senators from becoming gladiators, while Nero forced them to act as such. Here it is implied that though the emperor did not compel the man as Nero, he might have prevented him like Augustus.

8. *Scripturus leges*] The 'lanista' was the trainer, who also hired gladiators on his own account under a bond, the penalties of which were very severe. They are therefore called 'regia verba,' the words of a tyrant; 'leges' are his rules. 'Fertur scripturus' is, it is reported he means to write them out, the rules to learn and the bond to sign. Some take 'regia verba' for the words of command: "attolle, caede, declina, urge, percute."

12. *Egregius coenat meliusque*] 'Caeteris' may be understood. 'Egregius' is an unusual comparative form, from 'egregie.' See M. 67, *a*, obs.; Z. 114, *a*, note. He says that those dine best who are poorest, who are like an old house just ready to fall and letting in the light through the cracks of the walls.

14. *gustus elementa per omnia*] 'Gustus' were the things eaten at the 'promulsis' to provoke the appetite. These persons got provocatives from water, air, and earth, fish, fowl, and vegetables; and the more they cost, the more in their hearts they relished their dainties.

17. *Ergo haud difficile est*] "Well then (since nothing stops them) it is not difficult to fetch the money which they are bent upon throwing away; they may pawn their dishes and dispose of their mother's bust, and season a glutton's platter with four hundred sesterces."

20. *miscellanea ludi.*] 'Miscellanea' is a mess of all sorts of things, as the Scholiast explains it. Having spent all he had to spend, the man comes to put up with gladiators' fare. 'Ludus' is the lanista's school.

21. *Refert ergo quis haec eadem paret;*] 'Ergo' is 'as I said,' going back to verse 1 (see x. 54, n.: "Ergo supervacua," etc.). 'Refert' (rem fert), it makes a difference. 'Haec eadem' is these said dainties. Ventidius is put, as Atticus was, for any wealthy person. 'Laudabile nomen' is represented in 'lautus,' verse 1.

25. *hic tamen idem Ignoret*] "While he, the very same man, knows not the great difference between a little bag and an iron-bound chest." He has learnt at school that Atlas is the highest mountain range in Africa, but does not know the great distance between his means and those of Ventidius and the like. The change in the mode to the subjunctive in 'ignoret' is to express a causal idea; "while yet he does not know." The first relative clause is simply adjectival. The saying γνῶθι σεαυτὸν is attributed to each of the seven wise men, to Pythagoras, to Socrates, and to the Delphic oracle, to which or some other divine source Juvenal ascribes it.

30. *nec enim loricam poscit*] Thersites knew himself better than to try for the armor of Achilles, in which Ulysses cut a doubtful figure. 'Traducere' is used in this sense of exposure in viii. 17. 'Ancipitem' agrees with 'se.' It means that he did not look like himself, people did not know him in the armor of Achilles.

32. *seu tu magno*] 'Seu' is opposed to 'sive' in verse 28 (sive quaeras vel velis — seu affectas), and a new verb is introduced, a common change of construction; there is a sort of anacoluthon, the indefinite person addressed seeming to be defined in 'tu.' 'Buccae' is used for a ranting noisy fellow, who blows out his cheeks like a bladder, and emits nothing but the wind that fills them.

36. *quum piscis emetur*] 'Gobio' or 'cobio,' as it appears to be sometimes spelt, is a gudgeon. 'Sacculus' (27), 'loculus,' 'crumena,' are all the same, a leather purse worn in the folds of the toga or the girdle. 'Loculus' is always used in the plural, because, it would seem, there were several compartments for holding different kinds of coin. 'Argentum grave' is silver in bars or plates (laminae).

39. *Et crescente gula*] That is 'et tamen,' as we have it repeatedly.

41. *exit Annulus*] The ring was properly the mark of equestrian or senatorian rank. Pollio would seem to belong to one of those orders.

44. *Non praematuri cineres*] He says it is not premature death that is sorrow to the riotous liver, but he has more reason to fear age than death, an old age of bankruptcy and exile from the scene of his pleasures. 'Luxuria' has always a bad sense. 'Luxury' does not express it. It is wanton excess. 'Paullum nescio quid' is a way of expressing a very little. 'Fenoris auctor' for 'fenerator' is an uncommon expression. 'Solum vertere' is a sort of euphemism for going into voluntary exile or running away.

49. *Baias et ad Ostia currunt:*] They must leave Rome, but they go

to the pleasantest places they can. As to Baiae, see iii. 4, n. Although Ostia had ceased to be the port of Rome when this satire was written, it continued to be a flourishing town throughout the period of the empire.

50. *Cedere namque foro*] To leave the forum is another way of expressing the running away from one's creditors. All the principal bankers and money-lenders had their place in the Forum Romanum. 'Deterius' is equivalent to 'turpius.' As to Suburra, see iii. 5. It was a close hot part of the town. On the agreement of 'ille,' 'illa,' with their predicates, see A. 47, 2, *e*; H. 445, 4; M. 313.

56. *Experiere hodie*] He comes now to the ostensible purpose of his epistle, and invites his friend Persicus to dinner. 'Numquid' is the same as the Greek εἴ τι. 'Vel' is exegetical, 'in my life or (that is) in my character and in action.'

61. *Evandrum, venies Tirynthius*] Hercules was called Tirynthius from Tiryns, a town of Argolis, where he was said to have settled by command of the Pythian oracle. Evander received Aeneas as his guest in his homely palace on the Palatine (as it was afterwards named). Aeneas was the 'minor hospes,' but in virtue of his mother Venus he is said 'contingere sanguine caelum.' Aeneas was killed in battle with the Rutulians near the river Numicius; but the legend said he was drowned in that river. Hercules, unable to bear the torture caused by the robe Deianira gave him, went to the top of Mount Oeta, in Thessaly, and there burnt himself to death, or while the pile on which he lay was burning he was carried up to Olympus in a cloud.

64. *Fercula nunc audi*] As to 'fercula,' courses, see i. 94. The different markets, 'macella,' the fish, vegetable, meat, and others, were all united long before Juvenal's time into one.

65. *De Tiburtino veniet*] It appears from this that Juvenal had an estate near Tibur. The description which follows is after the manner of Virgil's Eclogues. Under the name 'asparagi' are included several herbs besides the one we know by that name. This is why the word is usually in the plural. 'Villica' is the wife of his 'villicus,' or head-gardener. The eggs were wrapped up warm in the hay in which they were laid. Grapes were preserved in various ways with more or less freshness. 'Parte' denotes duration of time. M. 235, obs. 3; A. 55, 1, *b*; H. 378, 1; B. 950.

73. *Signinum Syriumque pirum,*] The Signian pears, from Signia in Latium, S. E. of Rome, were of a reddish color, and so were sometimes called 'testacea.' The Syrian pear was black and very juicy. The apples of Picenum were celebrated. Juvenal says his apples smell as fresh as when they were gathered, but the juice of autumn, which was considered unwholesome, had been dried out of them by the frost. It was now April. The construction is 'nec metuenda tibi sunt mala postquam posuere autumnum siccatum frigore et pericula crudi succi.' 'Put away their autumn' is an odd expression, but it is explained by what follows. 'Postquam' is 'now that they have.'

77. *jam luxuriosa*] Now it has grown to be luxurious. It was plain enough, but a still simpler diet had gone before in the good old days of M. Curius Dentatus, whom the Samnites found preparing his own supper of vegetables. The matrix of a pregnant sow, or one that had lately cast its litter, was counted a great delicacy.

82. *Sicci terga suis,*] He says the chine of bacon dried on a hurdle in the ceiling was formerly kept to be produced on holidays or birthdays. 'Rara crate' is a frame with wide interstices. All but the legs and entrails of a sacrificed victim were eaten. The birthday lard was for moistening the vegetables perhaps. 'Moris' is the possessive genitive: "it belonged to the custom of former times."

86. *Cognatorum aliquis*] On his birthday comes one of his relations, who has been thrice consul, not only with the title which in Juvenal's time was sometimes borne without the office, but with the command of armies in the field, and moreover he has been dictator. The great man comes early to dinner, shouldering the spade with which he has been digging. Verse 89 is a picture. 'Solito maturius' means that he leaves his work earlier than usual to honor his relation's birthday or holiday.

90. *Quum tremerent autem*] In the good days when men were afraid of the censors. 'Autem' serves to continue the discourse. M. 437, *b*. Of the Fabii there were many censors. M. Porcius Cato is the elder of that name, who was censor B.C. 184. M. Aemilius Scaurus was censor B.C. 109, and C. Fabricius Luscinus B.C. 275. Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator were colleagues in the censorship B.C. 204; the reference in verse 92 is to them. They were both 'equites,' and each had a public horse. Livius had been condemned by the people in his first consulship fifteen years before. During his censorship, when the names of his century were called over, the crier hesitated whether he should call that of Salinator, but Claudius obliged him to do so, and ordered his colleague to sell his horse as one who had been condemned by the people.

95. *Clarum Trojugenis*] See i. 100: "Ipsos Trojugenas." The legs of the beds and dinner-couches, as well as the sides, were sometimes highly ornamented. In the old times, he says, men were content with a small couch with plain sides and a bronze ornament in front representing a rude ass's head crowned with vine-leaves. The ass was sacred to Bacchus. The home-bred slaves (vernae), whom he means by 'ruris alumni,' made game of the rude figure. The construction in verse 96 is 'sed (in) lectis nudo latere et parvis frons aerea ostendebat,' 'on couches with bare sides and small, a front of bronze displayed the rude head of an ass with a wreath.'

100. *Tunc rudis et Graias*] The allusion here is chiefly to the destruction of Corinth by Mummius (B.C. 146). The historians describe the waste and destruction of valuable works of art as most deplorable.

103. *Ut phaleris gauderet equus,*] The bridles and harness of horses were commonly much ornamented with metal. 'Phalerae' include all the harness and trappings. A fitting device for a helmet would be the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and his brother, being tamed by the

destiny of Rome. The two brothers are called Quirini, as Castor and Pollux are called Castores. 'Fato' is dative.

106. *Ac nudam effigiem*] There is supposed to be on the helmet a naked figure of Mars coming down from heaven with shield and spear, and still in the air. 'Clipeo venientis et hasta' is the same construction as 'pugnanti Gorgone' in the next satire, verse 4: "coming armed with shield and spear." See M. 258, obs. 3, and compare Z. 473.

109. *Tusco farrata catino;*] Etruscan pottery was very common, as we know from the abundant specimens that remain. 'Farrata' is equivalent to 'pultes' above, verse 58. 'Ponere' is used ordinarily for putting on the table.

110. *Omnia tunc quibus invideas*] "Every thing in those days was such as you might envy if you are inclined to a little jealousy."

111. *Templorum quoque majestas*] He says that in the old times the gods were nearer to men, they helped them more directly, and he refers to the story told by Livy of one having heard a voice louder than that of man in the dead of night, ordering him to report to the magistrates that the Gauls were coming. 'Dii fictiles' are frequently referred to. 'Violatus' is 'wronged,' as if it was an insult to gild him. See iii. 20.

118. *hos lignum stabat*] 'Stabat' is like 'exstabat.' There was wood for these purposes from any old tree that was blown down; but now they cannot eat their dinner unless they have handsome round tables with ivory stems. The 'orbis' had a single stem which was carved in a variety of ways. It was commonly ornamented with ivory, and more commonly with silver. Juvenal had one in his eye which was supported by a leopard rampant, not a very natural position. Scented oils of various kinds, of which the nardum was most costly, were used by the Romans plentifully. At their evening parties after dinner, when they met to drink and play, 'unguenta' were commonly served out to the guests, and chaplets of flowers supplied by the host were put upon their heads. Roses were scattered on the floor at the regular dinner. 'Dama' is an antelope, which when young was and is a great delicacy.

124. *quos mittit porta Syenes*] Syene, being a frontier town in Upper Egypt, through which the traffic from Aethiopia passed, is called 'porta.' The Nabathaei and Idumaei were not very clearly distinguished at the time when Juvenal wrote, parts of Arabia Petraea being occupied by each. Arabia never produced elephants, and they are not now found and perhaps never were in the north of Africa. Elephants drop their teeth but once, like other animals, and then they take larger ones. Juvenal adopts a popular fable.

127. *Hinc surgit orexis,*] This gives them an appetite. The old-fashioned people, and those who were not entitled to wear gold rings, wore them of iron, the universal practice of the olden time; a silver foot to a table had come to be as common a thing as an iron ring.

131. *Adeo nulla uncia nobis*] "Such is my contemptible condition that I have actually not an ounce of ivory," which was a conventional

quantity. 'Nec' is 'not even.' 'Tessellae' are little dice. 'Calculus' is a counter for playing a game common among the Romans, and like our draughts.

136. *Sed nec structor erit*] As to 'structor,' see v. 120, n. 'Pergula' is properly some projecting part of a house, a veranda. It is derived from 'per-rego,' 'pergo.' The word came to be used in a variety of ways, particularly as a school, which is its use here. Trypherus is the name he invents for some master of the art of carving. It may be derived from τρυφή. 'Apud quem' is 'in whose house.' The teats of a sow were a great delicacy. The boar was commonly the chief dish (caput coenae) of a large dinner, and served whole. 'Pygargus' was some sort of deer named from its white rump. 'Scythicae volucres' were pheasants (Phasianae aves), a delicacy enjoyed by the rich only. Of the 'phoenicopterus,' the flamingo, the brains and the tongue were considered particular delicacies, as the tongue is still. It is found in the south of Europe, but the Romans probably got them most abundantly from the coast of Africa. The 'oryx' was an African wild goat with one horn, which Juvenal says was a great delicacy. It is not mentioned as such elsewhere. 'Ulmea coena' is a collection of wooden models used for practising upon. They made such a clatter that the whole Suburra echoed with it. The school therefore was in that part of the town.

142. *Nec frustum capreae*] He says his young beginner is not only a novice in carving, but in stealing too. 'Afra avis' is doubtful. It is supposed to be the guinea fowl. 'Ofella' is a chop, the diminutive of 'offa.' He says his boy is a novice in every thing, and has only got so far in thieving as to purloin a small chop. 'Et' is 'and only,' which is implied in 'exiguae.'

146. *a frigore tutus,*] The time is spring, and he says his servant is an uncouth boy, and clad in warm clothes, which the fine houses do not allow.

155. *Quales esse decet*] There is a play upon 'ingenuus.' His was an honest face and a frank modesty, such as boys who are born of free parents (ingenui) should have. Only they wore the 'toga praetexta' (which he calls the bright purple) in childhood.

159. *Hic tibi vina dabit*] The wine from the hills above Tibur was Horace's 'vile Sabinum,' which therefore had not increased in value.

162. *ut Gaditana canoro*] The practice of having young dancers and singers and musicians of both sexes at dinner is sufficiently well known to those who are familiar with Horace. The women of Gades are repeatedly mentioned by the writers of the empire as employed in this way.

169. *Alterius sexus :*] This means the women. 'Extenditur' means they are more on the stretch of excitement.

172. *Testarum crepitus*] These were castanets. Why these instruments, which were made of bone or wood, were called 'testae' or ὄστρακοι is uncertain. He says the words of the song to which the 'testae' were an accompaniment were such as no slave girl standing naked at the door of the stews would utter. 'Fornix' is properly an

arched vault, of which there were many under the Circus and in various parts of the city, which were let out for brothels.

175. *Qui Lacedaemonium pytismate*] At Taenarus in Laconia was found marble of a green color and very valuable. 'Orbem' is the pavement, which was formed of small pieces, round or oval, of marble. He says the man who spits out his wine over his marble floor may like that sort of language, but plain men, living in their quiet way, do not.

176. *alea turpis,*] What is immoral for the poor man may be permitted to the rich; it is only cheerfulness and good breeding in them. 'Nitidus' has reference to manners and may be rendered 'well-bred.' The dice used by the Romans were of two sorts: 'tali,' which had four flat sides, and 'tesserae, tessellae,' which had six. The former were made of the knuckle-bones of animals, chiefly sheep, and answered to the ἀστράγαλοι of the Greeks. The latter were made of ivory or wood, and corresponded to the Greek κύβοι. 'Alea' was used generally for all games of chance.

181. *dubiam facientia carmina palmam.*] This is a Roman's judgment. The next line is a modest way of saying he does not profess to read well.

183. *Sed nunc*] "But at any rate, however all this may be." This is a way of coming to the chief ostensible purpose. When a man can write to his friend, as in verses 186 to 189, whether in joke or in earnest, society must be in a bad way.

193. *Interea Megalesiacae*] The Megalesia was a festival kept in honor of Cybele early in April of each year. Her worship as that of the great goddess (μεγάλη) was introduced from Mount Ida in Phrygia. The Megalesian games were not celebrated in the Circus before the time of the empire. They consisted in the earlier times of theatrical representations, and were presided over by the curule aedile. Under the empire this duty was performed by one of the praetors, who, it appears from this place, went in procession and presided in state as at the Ludi Circenses (see x. 36, n.). He calls the games those of the Megalesian napkin, because a napkin was dropped by the praetor who presided as a signal for the beginning of each race or game. Before 'colunt' 'cives' must be understood. The praetor is called 'praeda caballorum,' probably because he had to spend so much money in providing horses for the games. The praetor is at once in the position of triumpher and prisoner.

195. *mihi pace Immensae*] 'Pace plebis' is 'by the leave of the people.' It is most common in the combinations 'pace mea,' 'pace tua.' He asks their leave to abuse them, for he says in the same breath they are a huge useless mob, and care for nothing but the Circus, as he has said often before.

197. *fragor aurem Percutit*] He writes as if he heard the shout proclaiming that the green faction had won. The division of drivers in the Circus into four parties, who were distinguished by the color of their dress, has been mentioned above on vii. 114. The favorite color, which was particularly patronized by some of the emperors, was the dark green (prasinus), and Juvenal says he gathers by the shout that

green coat has won; for if that color failed the whole town would go into mourning as they did after Cannae. This was the calamity the Romans felt most and longest. The consuls defeated at Cannae were L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro, B.C. 216. Livy, describing the battle, says that a wind arose blowing the dust in the face of the Romans and blinding them.

201. *clamor et audax Sponsio,*] 'Sponsio' here is a wager. He says shouting and wagering and sitting next to pretty girls is more fit for the young than himself, so he must have been advanced in life when this was written. 'Cultae' is equivalent to 'amatae.' 'Contracta cuticula' is a dried-up skin. In their houses the Romans did not wear the toga, but it was not decent to appear in public places without it.

204. *Jam nunc in balnea salva Fronte*] He says, "Although it wants a whole hour of noon, you may go to the bath without shame." 'Frons' is usually put for the seat of modesty. The usual dinner hour was the ninth, and the Romans commonly bathed an hour before dinner. But this was on business days. The invitation is for a holiday, and men might do as they pleased without being afraid of seeming idle. He says it would not do, however, to begin bathing so early every day of the feast, which lasted six days, for even such a luxurious life as that would become very wearisome. The last verse reminds us of the Greek proverb, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*.

SATIRE XII.

This is a letter to Corvinus, explaining to him the reason of the poet's rejoicing on the safe arrival of his friend Catullus, after a stormy voyage in which he had encountered the usual dangers and displayed the usual amount of fear. There is some playfulness, though perhaps a little ponderous, in the description of his friend's conduct and sufferings; but the whole composition cannot have cost the writer much labor, and does not offer much entertainment. The last thirty or forty lines are occupied with a stroke at legacy-hunters. The Satire seems to belong to the later years of Juvenal's life. It could not have been written before the time of Trajan (see on verse 75).

Argument. — To-day, Corvinus, is more pleasant to me than the day of my birth. I have vowed to the gods according to my means, and gladly would I offer more. For my friend has come, still trembling at his dangers. It was like a storm in poetry; and, besides, Catullus threw overboard all his costliest goods. There was no safety till at last the mast was cut away (1–56). So you trust yourself to a log, only a few inches from destruction. But at last the ship, with but one sail, comes to Ostia; and the sailor lands, and has wonderful tales to tell. Now I will offer my sacrifices and then rejoice before my Lares (57–92). Do not suspect my motives; Catullus has three

children; no one would waste a dying hen or a quail on so useless a friend. If a rich person falls sick, all offer vows; some promise a hecatomb; elephants are not plenty here, yet some would offer them, or even their own children. Then, if the patient should get well, he would arrange to leave his money to Pacuvius, who prayed for his recovery (93–127). Long live Pacuvius, with plenty of gold, and not a friend to love (128–130).

1. *Natali, Corvine, die*] The welcoming of the day that reminds us of our birth, and assigning to it a gladness which it rarely inspires after childhood, is a conventionality as old as history. The Romans from the earliest times observed their birthdays and those of their rulers and great men and their friends, as religious holidays, with prayers and sacrifices, as we have seen in the last satire, verse 84. As to 'caespes,' turf altars were commonly used by persons of moderate means.

3. *Niveam Reginae ducimus agnam;*] White victims were offered to the gods above, and black to those below, *χθόνιοι*. The worship of Juno Regina was brought from Veii by Camillus, according to Livy, and a temple was built to her under that name on the Aventine. She who fought with the Gorgon (that is on her 'aegis') was Minerva, to whom he has promised a like offering for the preservation of his friend. The gods to whom they offered on such occasions were perhaps chosen rather arbitrarily, or circumstances might direct the choice in some instances. But Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were commonly worshipped together. The temple on the Capitoline hill consisted of three parts, of which the middle was dedicated to Jupiter Opt. Max., that on the right to Juno, and the other to Minerva. The Gorgon Medusa, whose head Perseus cut off and Pallas placed upon her 'aegis,' was by some traditions an inhabitant of Africa, and so Juvenal calls her 'Maura.' 'Pugnanti Gorgone' is in construction like 'clipeo venientis et hasta' (xi. 106, where see note); it means "fighting armed with the Gorgon" as the other is "coming armed with shield and spear."

5. *Sed procul extensum*] A young steer is tied and chafes at the length of the rope, and shakes his head, waiting to be offered to Jupiter Opt. Max. It was considered a good omen, if the animal went willingly to the altar. The Capitoline hill was also called Tarpeian from the treacherous Tarpeia who betrayed the citadel on that hill to the Sabines. The precipitous part of the hill from which criminals were thrown was more especially known by that name. 'Sed' means only that another victim was reserved for Jove more fitting than the lamb. 'Coruscare' is the same as 'vibrare.' Wine was commonly poured on the head of the victim before it was killed, and on the parts that were sacrificed while they were burning on the altar. They were also sprinkled with meal or rather broken bread (mola salsa) and 'thus.'

8. *ubera matris Ducere,*] The meanings of the word 'ducere' are very various. It here means, as it commonly does with 'pocula,' to drain. Above (verse 3) it is used for offering a victim, and so it is below

(verse 112) and in x. 65: "duc in Capitolia magnum Cretatumque bovem." It is the ordinary word for marrying a wife (i. 22), for moulding a statue (vii. 237), for burying the dead (i. 146; x. 240), for drawing lots (vi. 583), for dragging by the heels (v. 125; x. 66), for spinning (xii. 65), for contracting (as we say of a stain, etc.) (xiii. 216); Juvenal also uses it for stealing (xiii. 152). In many of its significations 'trahere' is used synonymously with it (verse 11). 'Quippe ferox vitulus,' 'sure 'tis a wild steer.'

11. *Pinguior Hispulla*] He says if his means were equal to his affection he would offer a bull fatter than Hispulla, a woman of whom nothing definite is known. The beast should be hardly able to carry its own weight (a prize ox), not reared in the pastures about Rome, but a white beast whose breeding (sanguis) should show that he came from the Clitumnus. This was a small stream in Umbria, which flowed through a valley rich in pasture-land, and celebrated for a breed of peculiarly white sheep and cattle. The stream was held in religious veneration, and there were many small temples near the source. For this reason and from their color, the animals bred on the banks were commonly used for sacrifice.

14. *a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,*] 'Sanguis' and 'cervix' stand by a synecdoche for 'taurus,' or they may be taken as in a partitive apposition with it. Among the Greeks the victim was killed by the officiating priest. With the Romans this duty was performed by a person who bore the title of 'popa.' It was the practice first to strike the victim on the head with a hammer to stun it, and then to cut the throat, or chop the neck with an axe. The victim was 'mactata' after the blow of the hammer, which was administered by the 'popa;' the 'cultrarius' probably was a lower officer who finished the business. Juvenal speaks of him as a burly fellow, 'grandi.' The gerundive is rarely construed, as in verse 14, with 'a' and the ablative. See H. 388, 1, 3; B. 1310; Z. 651.

15. *trepidantis adhuc*] Though the danger was past he was still trembling at the remembrance of what he had lately gone through.

19. *impulit ignis,*] This probably refers to the meteoric flashes known in the Mediterranean as the fire of St. Elmo. 'Quum crederet' is a relative clause denoting result: 'it was such a time that each believed himself struck.' 'Attonitus' is a stronger word for 'territus,' as in xiv. 306.

23. *si quando poetica surgit*] When a storm is gotten up in poetry all the incidents are the same and as terrible as in this storm.

24. *Genus ecce aliud discriminis;*] 'But here is another kind of danger,' which he relates at verse 30, introducing it with a little mock seriousness and a parenthesis about pictures of wrecks. The practice of shipwrecked sailors hanging up pictures in the temples (of Isis in particular) is often alluded to. They also carried such pictures about to get pity and alms. The painters, then, might well be said to get their living by Isis. The misfortune is described to be the throwing over of his goods, which no doubt would be introduced in many pictures of this sort, for the first expedient in danger was to lighten

the ship, as in St. Paul's voyage. 'Caetera' and 'pars' both refer to 'genus aliud.'

30. *Quum plenus fluctu*] "When the hold was full of water, and when the waves were tossing up first this side and then that of the ship, a crazy tree, and the skill of the old pilot could not help her, he began to settle with the winds by tossing over the cargo." The words 'arboris incertae' have given a great deal of trouble, and various conjectural alterations have been suggested. I think the common reading may stand, 'arboris' being used in apposition with 'puppis.' He is abusing the ship, which he calls 'dolatum lignum' below, as we might call it a log. 'Jactus' is explained on iii. 125: "nusquam minor est jactura clientis." 'Decidere' is the legal term for coming to terms with an opponent. The fable that follows about the beaver is as old as Aesop, and was believed by the ancients. It is often alluded to. 'Adeo intelligit' is 'he so fully understands.' The substance called castor, obtained from the groins of the beaver, has been used in medicine as an antispasmodic; it is now chiefly employed by perfumers.

39. *teneris quoque Maecenatibus*] See i. 66, n. This name, it appears, was long a proverb. He threw overboard his purple clothes and others made of fine Spanish wool, from sheep which he says were colored by the quality of the rich grass, the fine water of the Baetis, with its hidden virtues, and the air of the country where they were bred, which was the modern Andalusia, called Baetica from the river Baetis (the Guadalquivir), by which and its tributaries it was watered. This valley has from the earliest times been the richest in Spain, and was famous for its breed of sheep. The wool, it appears, was of a yellow color, and the color was popularly attributed to the water of the river.

44. *Parthenio factas*] 'Parthenius' may be the name of a 'caelator,' a worker in metal. But there is reason for thinking that 'Parthenio' is equivalent to 'Samio;' 'Parthenia' was the old name for Samos, which place was celebrated for its earthenware vessels. Juvenal seems to be speaking throughout of silver. But the Samians were connected with the earliest history of metal-casting; and two Samian artists named Theodorus are mentioned. 'Crater' was the bowl in which the ancients mixed their wine and water. 'Lances' and 'cratera' are in partitive apposition with 'argentum.' 'Pholus' was a centaur; he is generally connected with drinking, as the centaurs commonly were. Fuscus and his wife are unknown.

46. *Adde et bascaudas et mille escalia.*] 'Bascauda' is a Celtic word, and originally belonged to certain vessels introduced from Britain. The word is the original of 'basket.' The name must have afterwards been given to silver vessels made elsewhere. 'Escalia' (vasa) are dishes of whatever shape to hold meat, 'esca.' 'Lances' were flat. 'Multum caelati' is 'a great quantity of chased silver cups.' Philip of Macedon and his gold are famous. Olynthus in Chalcidice was besieged by Philip B.C. 348, and taken through the treachery of two of the inhabitants, whose services he bought. The city was destroyed and the inhabitants sold. All the cities in Chalcidice he gained at the same time and in the same way. He acted uni-

versally on the principle laid down for him by the oracle, ἀργυρέαις λόγχῃσι μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις. Philip had the reputation of being a hard drinker.

48. *Sed quis nunc alius qua*] There is a mock seriousness about all this description of Catullus's sacrifice of his goods to save his life. The man must have been in a terrible fright, and went on throwing his things away recklessly, it would seem, in the hope of making the ship lighter or propitiating the elements. There is some humor therefore in the apparent earnestness with which he asks, "Who else in these days and where, who, I say, has the boldness to prefer his life to his money?" 'Quis qua parte' is like τίς ποῦ; See M. 492, *a*; H. 454, 3; Hadley's Greek Grammar, 827.

52. *Jactatur rerum utilium*] 'Res utiles' are all kinds of things used by man, including food. They are opposed to ornamental things. But all the losses do not lighten the ship enough. 'Nec' is 'not even.'

54. *Decidit ut malum*] 'Dedicit' is probably employed in the sense in which the Greeks commonly use καταβαίνειν, 'he comes (or matters come) to this, that he must apply the axe to the mast.' At the end of the verse 'hac re' seems the best reading. The sense then is "by this act he got out of the difficulty; but the extreme of danger must it be when we apply means of relief which must take away part of the ship."

57. *I nunc et ventis animam committe*] As to 'I nunc,' see x. 310, n. 'Dolato ligno' is a plank rough-hewn with a dolabra. A 'digitus' was one-sixteenth of an English foot; four or seven is a conventional way of speaking. 'Taeda' is the generic name for the trees yielding tar, including several varieties of the 'pinus,' of which many were used in ship-building; for which reason 'pinus' is frequently used for a ship, though 'taeda' is found in that sense only here.

60. *Mox cum reticulis*] 'After you have thought of that, then look at what you have to take with you for the voyage, a bag of bread, a big lagena, and hatchets,' which makes a ludicrous climax. 'Reticulis et pane' is a hendiadys. 'Reticulum' is a netted bag, commonly used it seems for the purpose of carrying bread, as in Hor. S. i. 1. 47. The 'lagena' was the same as the 'amphora,' and 'ventre lagenae' is like 'Montani venter,' 'the big-bellied Montanus,' iv. 107.

62. *tempora postquam Prospera vectoris*] 'But when the passenger's lucky time arrived, and fate more mighty than the wind and sea;' that is, when the day came back and his fate began to prevail over the elements. Some such verb as 'redierunt' must be supplied. As to the Parcae and their spinning, see iii. 27, n. Their spinning white threads was a good sign.

67. *inopi miserabilis arte*] 'The wretched ship with beggarly shifts goes on, with clothes spread out and foresail, the only sail that's left.' 'Inopi arte' means such poor means as the storm had reduced her to. They spread clothes for sails, the only one that was left being that which ran out from the bows. The foresail was called 'dolo;' it was a fore-and-aft sail of small size. The rig of the Roman sailing

ships however seems not to be very well understood. 'Prora' is used generally for the ship and particularly for the fore part 'with its own sail.'

70. *tum gratus Iulo,*] When the sun rose they made out the heights of Alba. Where the Trojans landed in Latium Aeneas built a town and called it Lavinium after his wife Lavinia. Thirty years afterwards, when the population of this town increased, his son Iulus or Ascanius left it to his step-mother, and founded Alba Longa. To the spot he was directed by a white sow with a litter of thirty pigs, such a sight as the Trojans had never seen. The highest point of the group of the Alban hills is 3000 feet above the level of the sea, and a conspicuous object to ships approaching the coast.

75. *Tandem intrat positas*] The port of Rome was for some centuries Ostia, which was originally built at the mouth of the Tiber, but gradually became less accessible from the sea through the deposit of soil brought down by the river. In consequence of this the Emperor Claudius in the year A.D. 42 caused a basin to be dug two miles to the north, which was connected with the river by means of a canal. Here ships of large size were able to ride, the basin being protected by two moles which ran out into the sea, and between them there was a breakwater with a lighthouse upon it. This basin was called Portus Augusti. Trajan increased and improved this artificial harbor (which Juvenal says you would admire more than any natural one) by the addition of an inner basin. This basin the pilot of Catullus's ship made for. It was such that a small boat might enter and lie there in safety, such a boat as plied upon the Lacus Lucrinus, by Baiae. The above account explains the text. 'Porrectaque brachia rursum' means that the moles were curved outwards beyond the breakwater and took a bend inwards behind it. 'Non sic igitur' is 'not so much then,' such being the character of the work. 'Sed' means that though the outer basin was safe, the pilot thought it better with his disabled ship to go into the other. Gibbon (c. xxxi.) gives an account of this port, which he calls "one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence" Juvenal calls the breakwater Tyrrhenam Pharon after the Alexandrian Pharos, on which Ptolemy Philadelphus built his lighthouse. From this lighthouses in general got the name Pharos. This allusion to Trajan's basin shows that the satire was not written before his time.

81. *gaudent ubi vertice raso*] Sailors saved from a wreck commonly cut off their hair as a thank-offering to some god. 'Sinus' is the appositional genitive. 'Garrula' agrees with 'pericula' by hypallage.

83. *linguis animisque faventes,*] To the ordinary formula, 'favete linguis,' 'animis' was sometimes added. It means to keep both tongue and thoughts in a reverential frame. The knife as well as the burning flesh of the victim was sprinkled with 'mola salsa.' The 'molles foci' are the turf altars (verse 2), of which there were three.

86. *et, sacro quod praestat*] He says, after performing the chief sacrifice, that which has precedence, he will go home and crown his Lares, which it seems to have been usual to rub with wax and polish. 'Fragili' seems to be only what is called an 'epitheton ornans.'

89. *Hic nostrum placabo Jovem*] The Penates of a house included one or more of the Dii Magni as well as the Lares, the spirits of their good ancestors. Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and Vesta, one or all, were most commonly included. 'Operari' is commonly used for offering sacrifice, or the performance of a religious duty. Here he means his door is doing its duty with its early morning lamps.

95. *Libet exspectare*] "I shall be glad to see who will expend a sick hen, just closing its eyes, on a friend so fruitless as this." Cocks or hens were offered to Aesculapius in particular, but also to the Lares and other gods. Quails and sparrows were types of debauched passion, and were never very well thought of. 'Cadere' is a common word in connection with sacrifices.

98. *Sentire calorem*] He says if a rich person without children takes a fever, men hang their walls with tablets inscribed with prayers for his or her recovery, and vows of sacrifices, or whatever it might be, if the prayer should be granted. These tablets were common on all occasions of this sort or of other important prayers, and they were hung up in the house of the person praying, or in the temples, or on the statues of the gods; see x. 55. Tablets so inscribed were also carried before the victims to the altar. All such vows were made in public, a principle observed generally in respect to prayer, which was held suspicious if it were secret. It should be noticed as a peculiar construction that the verb in verse 99 is singular though the adjective 'orbi' is plural.

101. *exsistunt qui promittunt hecatomben,*] 'Exsistunt qui' cannot properly be said to stand for 'sunt qui.' "Persons start up who promise a hecatomb (that is a hundred bulls), since elephants are not for sale in these parts, and are not bred in Latium or anywhere under our skies." He means if there were elephants they would have been vowed instead. 'Nec venales' is opposed to 'nec concipitur,' and 'aut' joins 'Latio' and 'usquam.' The change to the finite construction 'bellua concipitur,' where 'concepti' (elephanti) would be expected, is a common Latin usage (compare xi. 32).

104. *sed furva gente petita*] 'Petita' agrees with 'bellua,' and 'Caesaris armentum' is in apposition with it. 'Furva gente' are the Indians. He says the emperors kept herds of elephants in the country of the Rutuli in the neighborhood of Lavinium in Latium, where Turnus was king. They were kept for public shows. These beasts are not prepared to serve any private person, since their ancestors obeyed the orders of Hannibal (whom he calls Tyrius, as Carthage was a Phoenician settlement), and Roman generals, and Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, to which country the Molossi belonged. It was he who first brought elephants over into Italy, and the battle of Heraclea (B.C. 280), when it was almost decided against him, he turned with his reserve of elephants, which the Roman cavalry would not face. Livy describes how Hannibal got his elephants over the Rhone. They were thirty-seven in number. The appearance of these animals helped him in crossing the Alps by the terror they struck into the mountaineers. They suffered terribly on that march. Livy says that the

Romans first used elephants in the war against Philip of Macedon, B.C. 200. This was the year after the conclusion of the second Punic war, in which Livy says these elephants were taken. Pliny says that elephants were first exhibited in the Circus in the year B.C. 99. The last syllable in 'belli' (verse 110) is preserved from elision.

111. *Nulla igitur mora per Novium,*] This means that Novius and Pacuvius (who may be anybody) are quite ready, and the difficulty is not on their part if it is not done, to offer elephants on the altar of Gallita's Lares. On the use of 'quin,' see A. 65, 1, *b*; M. 375, *c*; Z. 543.

115. *Alter enim, si concedas*] 'Enim' means they would not hesitate about an elephant, for one of them would be quite ready to offer human sacrifices for the life of the rich woman, or even his own child, as Agamemnon did, though he could not expect her to be delivered and a hind substituted in her place, as the story is about Iphigenia. 'Tragicae' means that this is the story in the Tragedians. The offence requiring 'piaculum' was that Agamemnon had not fulfilled a vow he had made to Artemis to offer to her the most beautiful thing that should be born in the year his daughter was born; he or the Argives had also shot a hind loved by Diana. For the subjunctive in 'concedas,' see references on x. 142. 'Pueris et frontibus ancillarum' is for 'frontibus puerorum et ancillarum.'

121. *Laudo meum civem,*] So the master commended the unjust steward because he was wise in his generation. He says ironically that the safety of a thousand ships (referring, perhaps, to Agamemnon's fleet, for the safety of which he sacrificed his daughter) is nothing compared with a will, for if the sick man recovers he will unmake his will, caught in the snare of the fisherman. 'Nassa' is a snare made of osier, and so contrived that the fish that got in could not get out again. 'Libitina' was the goddess of funerals and all things pertaining to the dead. She is identified by some authors with Proserpina, and by others with Venus.

124. *Post meritum sane mirandum,*] After a service truly astonishing, that is the effectual vows of Pacuvius, to which he is ready to attribute his recovery. For this service, he will perhaps, make him his sole 'heres' (heres ex asse). 'Breviter,' 'in few words.' 'Rivalibus' is here used in an uncommon way. Its derived sense elsewhere has reference only to rivalry in love.

126. *Ergo vides quam Grande*] "So you see what a return for his sufferings the death of one Mycenaean damsel won." He supposes him to have had a 'nubilis Iphigenia,' and to have sacrificed her, and to have had his trouble soothed by the fruits of his devotion in the old man's will. Iphigenia is represented in the story as having been sent for to Aulis by her father under the pretence that she was to be married to Achilles. 'Mycenis' is an adjective.

128. *vel Nestora totum;*] See x. 246. "Let him live a whole Nestor." The accusative is that of kindred signification. Nero's motto was: "Hoc agamus ne quis quidquam habeat," "let it be our endeavor that no one shall have any thing." He robbed provinces, and he robbed rich citizens. No one could call his money his own.

130. *nec amet quenquam,*] We may understand 'tamen,' "and yet neither love nor be beloved by any." He asks the heaviest curse that could be inflicted on the man for his meanness: a long, dreary life with heaps of stolen gold to look at, and not a friend in the whole world with whom to exchange sympathy.

SATIRE XIII.

A FRIEND of Juvenal's, whom he calls Calvinus, is in a state of great excitement about a fraud practised upon him by one to whom he had given in trust a sum of money, and who had denied the trust on oath. Juvenal writes to him ridiculing his wrath as mean and unphilosophical. The satire takes the form of expostulation and ironical consolation throughout. It is most familiarly known as dealing with the subject of an accusing conscience, which it does in a very powerful way. But this is only one part of the whole. The character of the times and the contrast of the past and the present occupy much of the poem, and there is a very fine passage describing the way in which men tamper with guilt and argue themselves into the commission of it, and put on a bold face as of innocence. There is no need of the supposition that Juvenal derived the ideas of this satire from the doctrines of Christianity. There never was a time when conscience did not exist in the mind of man, however completely the habit of guilt may have seared it in some and have given a color of innocence to wickedness in the judgment of whole communities. What Juvenal says on the subject of conscience derives its only weight from its truth; and though he exaggerates when he leads to the inference that the stings of a guilty conscience must necessarily follow guilt, the picture he draws is taken from experience, not from revelation, the experience of those who were no Christians and had no knowledge to frighten them but that which was suggested from within. The soliloquy in which a man argues away the misgivings with which he enters upon crime or the denial of it, represents no doubt the conduct and feelings of many who have more light than that of conscience; but there too the man is not a bad Christian, but a bad pagan; and if we are surprised to read in Juvenal language or sentiments which if delivered from a Christian pulpit would be appropriate and searching, it is because we are apt to forget that human nature, with its desires, its corruptions, and its self-deceptions, has always been the same in the main, and that God has never been without his witness against guilt in the heart of man. The reader had better take up this satire as representing the common moral sense of mankind, and look to the law of Christianity as confirming the unwritten law of which conscience has always been the guardian and the exponent, and of which such writings as Juvenal's, especially this poem, are the clearest evidence. From v. 17 it is commonly inferred that the poem was written in Hadrian's reign, about A.D. 119.

Argument. — Conscience convicts evil doers, though the praetor acquits them. You have the sympathy of your friends; you can afford to bear the loss; you are no worse off than many others. At sixty years of age, has experience, as wise a teacher as philosophy, taught you no better than to complain because a friend will not give back a deposit (1–22)? Good men are scarce now; we live in a bad age; yet we call loudly on the faith of gods and men (23–32). You must be in your second childhood, to look for honesty now-a-days. Before gods were so plenty, in the good old times, dishonesty was a prodigy, disrespect was a crime. Now honesty is a mighty wonder (33–70). I can tell you of those who have lost more than you, and they who have stolen the money despise the gods and forswear themselves lustily (71–85). Some believe in chance; others believe in the gods, but will take punishment if they may keep their gains, or else will run their chances of escaping it; meanwhile you shout at the gods and charge them with being useless images (86–119). Now let an unlearned man offer you consolation. If there never was so bad a crime, then mourn as much as you like; but things are everywhere the same; you have no right to ask to be excepted. Go to the praefect's court; spend a few days with him; and then complain of your loss, if you dare. No one wonders at the goitre in the Alps, or at blue eyes in Germany, or at battles with the cranes in the land of the pygmies (120–173). You say that perjury must be punished. Suppose him put to death; how much will you gain by that (174–179)? But, you say, revenge is pleasanter than life. Chrysippus and Thales and Socrates would not say so. Philosophy corrects our faults; only small minds care for revenge, as is evident from the fact that women love it (180–192). But do they escape whom conscience lashes? They suffer, as the Spartan suffered for only a wrong desire. The guilty man finds no rest or comfort at meals or in sleep; he is afraid of storms and of calms, and dreads disease and dares not offer sacrifice; the life of any victim is worth more than his (192–235). The wicked are changeable; but nature goes back to its own ways. Who is ever contented with a single crime? He will be caught some day and suffer for it. You will confess at last that none of the gods is either deaf or blind (236–249).

1. *Exemplo quodcunque malo*] One sense of 'exemplum' is a pattern for imitation, and that which is done 'malo exemplo' is a bad action not fit to be imitated. 'Exemplo' is the ablative of quality, as it is called.

2. *se Judice nemo nocens absolvitur,*] These words appear to have become proverbial.

4. *Praetoris vicerit urna.*] In criminal trials a praetor usually presided. Juvenal says that the guilty man is his own judex, and is not acquitted though corrupt influence may win, through the praetor's lying urn; he has a judex within whom no influence can corrupt. 'Absolvo' was the legal word for acquittal, represented by a tablet with A. upon it. Each judex had two others, one marked C. (condemno) and the other marked N. L. (non liquet) which was an open verdict. 'Vincere' is the technical word for winning a cause. See iv. 136, where it applies to a deliberation.

5. *Quid sentire putas*] He asks what he supposes his friends all think of the fraud that has been practised upon him; meaning it should be a comfort to him to think they sympathized with him and condemned the thief; but besides (he adds), your fortune is not so small that you should feel the loss much, and moreover many others suffer as you are suffering.

8. *Jacturae te mergat onus,*] This is rather a confusion of metaphors. 'Jactura' is that which is thrown over to lighten a ship (iii. 125, n.). Here as in other places it means a loss, and he says his friend's fortune is not so small that the burden of a moderate loss should sink him.

10. *Tritus et e medio*] He means his misfortune is a common one, and taken at random out of the heap of ordinary accidents. 'Aequo' is, by a common construction, for 'quam aequum est.' See A. 54, 5, *b*; H. 417, 6; B. 902.

13. *Tu quamvis levium*] 'Be they as light as you will.' This is the primary meaning of 'quamvis.' For the subjunctive in 'reddat,' see A. 66, 1, *d* and note; H. 520; B. 1255.

17. *Fonteio Consule natus?*] L. Fonteius Capito was consul with C. Vipsanius A.D. 59, and there is every reason to suppose this is the year to which Juvenal alludes. If so, and it was sixty years at least before, this satire could not have been written before A.D. 119, which was the second year of Hadrian's reign.

18. *tot rerum proficis usu?*] The man had lived long enough to get experience of men and things, and yet he had profited by it so little as to be surprised at being cheated.

20. *Victrix fortunae sapientia:*] 'Sapientia' is philosophy. 'Jactare jugum' is the opposite of 'ferre jugum.'

23. *Quae tam festa dies*] The dishonest did not stop their trade because it was a holiday: "the better the day the better the deed." 'Pyxide' is a box, here for poisons. The number of gates of Boeotian Thebes was the same as of the Nile's mouths, which the ancients reckoned to be seven, taking the principal outlets of the river. They are now but two. Thebes in Egypt cannot be meant, for that was said to have a hundred gates. 'Totidem' is the genitive of quantity; their number consists of so many.

28. *Nona aetas agitur*] He puts the age very low. The third, or according to Hesiod the fifth, or as Ovid says the fourth, was iron, and what must the ninth be? The Etruscans and Romans are said to have held to a division of the Magnus Annus into ten ages, of which the last was to see the restoration of the universe to its original condition as it was in the first or golden age. But all that Juvenal says is that the age stood very low in the downward scale of depravity, and that the iron age, which was bad enough, was not so bad as that. The ages went down according to the value of certain metals, but no metal was cheap enough to designate the age in which he wrote.

31. *Nos hominum divumque fidem*] 'Pro deum hominumque fidem' and others of the same sort were common exclamations among the Romans. 'Fides' is honesty, truth, that which may be relied upon.

32. *Quanto Faesidium laudat*] Faesidius is a 'causidicus,' but a man of substance, who has clients that come into court and applaud him loudly. 'Sportula' means the clients who get the 'sportula' (i. 95, n.). The omission of 'tanto' before 'quanto' is common (see x. 13). Pliny describes with a good deal of disgust how young men with no qualifications thrust themselves into the inferior courts, and adds what is to the point here: that these pleaders are followed by auditors of a like kind, slaves whom they have hired for the purpose; they collect in the middle of the basilica, where the 'sportula' is served out to them as openly as in the dining-room: these fellows go about from court to court for the same pay (the 'sportula'), from which they have got the name σοφοκλεῖς (because they cried σοφῶς, as we say 'bravo') or in Latin 'laudicani.'

33. *senior bulla dignissime,*] He means he must be in his second childhood. The Greeks said, δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες. 'Bulla' is explained on v. 164. In verse 36, 'ut' is easily supplied before 'putet.' For the use of 'quoquam,' see on x. 184. The altar is red with the blood of the victim.

40. *Saturnus fugiens,*] That is, before Saturnus was driven from Olympus by Jupiter and took to the reaping-hook in Latium, where he taught the natives agriculture and became king of the country. He is usually represented with a reaping-hook in his hand. The Greek legends varied as to the place where Zeus was brought up when his mother Rhea hid him from his father Cronus. The common story was that she took him to Crete, where he was educated. Ida was a mountain mass of considerable height in Crete. See xiv. 271, n.

42. *Nulla super nubes*] These feasts of the gods belong, he means, to a later age than that of Saturnus, to the age of heroes, which Hesiod places the fourth in his list. 'Puer Iliacus' is Ganymedes. He is represented as the son of Tros, or of Ilus the son of Tros. Either way Troas was his native country, and he was carried off, according to the common account, from the Trojan Ida. He is said to have succeeded Hebe as cup-bearer of the gods. She was a daughter of Jupiter and Juno, and became the wife of Hercules. 'Ad cyathos' is the ordinary way of expressing this office.

44. *et jam siccato nectare*] 'Et' sometimes follows 'nec' to carry on the negation. See Krueger, Lat. Grammatik, 533, Anm. 4, *a*, 3. Juvenal groups Hebe and Vulcan together, and they make a picturesque contrast. He comes in reeking from his work. She is at her task on Olympus, and hands him a cup to refresh him, which he first drains and then wipes off the sweat from his black arms. All this Juvenal says was after the simple days of Saturnus.

46. *Prandebat sibi quisque deus,*] 'Each god dined by himself.' He says 'prandebat' because the 'prandium' (which we call luncheon) was a plain meal. The dative seems to be that "of advantage." See A. 51, 7, and note. Juvenal is ridiculing the polytheism of the poets and the gigantic system of vice sanctioned by divine example.

47. *Talis ut est hodie,*] 'Talis' is equivalent to 'tanta.' This use of the word is less common where only quantity and not quality is expressed.

Quality may be inferred here, but is not expressed or meant by 'talis.' 'Talis ut est' shows the connection between 'ut' and the relative 'qui,' from which 'qualis,' the natural companion of 'talis,' is derived. The older form of 'ut' is 'cut' or 'quut.'

48. *miserum urgebant Atlanta*] The Atlas of the ancients was confined to that part of the great mountain range of North Africa which bounded Mauritania on the south. According to some accounts, Atlas did not receive his burden until the days of Jupiter.

49. *triste profundi Imperium*] Before 'aliquis' must be supplied 'exstiterat' or 'erat.' 'Profundi' is the sea, if we would avoid tautology. Pluto carried off his wife Proserpina from Sicily. The wheel is Ixion's, the stone that of Sisyphus, the vulture the bird that ate the liver of Tityos. There is no reference to Prometheus.

54. *Credebant hoc grande nefas*] The law of Moses contained this precept: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head and honor the face of an old man" (Levit. xix. 32). The story of the old man in the theatre at Athens to whom the Lacedaemonian strangers rose up and offered him the seat he could not get from his own countrymen is familiar to most readers. Cicero (de Senect. c. 18), uses it to illustrate the subject of which Juvenal is speaking.

56. *Barbato cuicunque puer,*] 'Pueritia' ceased with the taking of the toga virilis about fourteen or fifteen. Respect for seniority was carried so far, he says, that a boy showed quite as much (par adeo) reverence for a youth not more than four years older than himself who had but just begun to show his early down, as for old age itself. It was usual to shave off the beard at about twenty-one. The next line means, though he lived in a richer house than the other. Wild strawberries (fraga) and mast were food for primitive times, and the consequence of the house is measured by the quantity of food stored for its consumption. As to 'cuicunque' without a verb, see below, verse 89, n.

60. *Nunc si depositum*] He has just said that in former days the utmost reverence was paid to age, but now honesty is a portentous thing; he means, then, that such reverence was proof of an honest and single mind, and that dishonesty sprang from the same selfish lack of consideration which led to the neglect of courtesy. 'Follis' is here used for a money-bag. It seems to have been commonly used in this way in later times, and as equivalent to money itself, as in Eastern countries a purse is a certain sum. 'Aerugo' is for 'aes,' contemptuously, the rust for the copper; and thus the long period of the trust is implied, as well as the fact that it has not been violated in any way.

62. *Tuscis digna libellis,*] He says such honesty is a prodigy worthy to be recorded in the Etrurian books, that is the books of the prophets. These books were full of mysterious prophecies, religious rites, and records of portentous events; and they were found, Niebuhr says, in every town of Etruria. See Mommsen's History, i. 244.

63. *lustrari debeat agna.*] A prodigy which was supposed to forebode ill was met by sacrifices, and this act was expressed technically by the word 'procurare.' The illustrations that follow are among the prodigies recorded by the Roman writers. Elision is neglected in 'puero,'

verse 65. For the tense of 'effuderit,' see references on viii. 41. As to the form 'apium,' see A. 11, I., 3, *d*; M. 44, 1, *a*; Z. 66, *b*; H. 89, II., 3, 1, 2; B. 115. The Grammars do not seem to agree as to the frequency of the form. The word 'uva' was used by the Romans for a cluster of bees, as the Greeks used βότρυς.

71. *Intercepta decem quereris*] Here then we have the sum his friend had lost, about $400. But suppose I tell you (he adds) that another man has lost twenty times as much in the same way, and a third still more, so much that a big chest could not hold it? He says the corner of a chest could hardly hold it; that is, every corner of the chest was full. 'Arcana' is 'arcanum depositum,' a trust given in private. By 'tam facile' we are to understand that he is putting not a hypothetical, but a real case. On the form of the conditional sentence (verse 75), see A. 59, 4, *d*; H. 511, II.; B. 1271.

76. *Aspice quanta Voce neget,*] 'Aspice' serves to make the object present, and it is conventionally no contradiction to say, See how loudly he denies it. The man is put before us, and we see him swearing to his lie without changing color or flinching. 'Ficti' has something of a concessive meaning: "feigned though it is."

78. *Tarpeiaque fulmina*] The bolts of Jupiter Capitolinus (xii. 6, n.). 'Framea' was a German name for a spear. The 'venatrix puella' is Diana. As to Cirrha, see vii. 64, n. Poseidon, according to the Greeks, was especially the god of the Aegaean Sea, in which he had his residence under the waters, off the coast of Euboea.

84. *Comedam*] The man says he will boil his son and eat his poor head if he is not speaking the truth, first dipping it in Egyptian vinegar, which was of the strong kind.

86. *Sunt in Fortunae qui*] Juvenal uses the indicative in 'ponunt,' because he means a particular class of thinkers, perhaps the Epicureans. See Z. 563; M. 365, obs. 1; H. 501, 2; B. 1228. He goes on to show how men make up their minds to this wickedness, some believing that there are no gods, others that there are gods, but their anger is not to be compared with the pleasures of possession, or it will not come, or at least not yet, and so on. Compare 2 Pet. iii. 4: "All things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

89. *altaria tangunt.*] See above, iii. 144, and xiv. 219. 'Quaecunque' is not commonly used without a verb, like 'quaevis.' It is so above, verse 56, and in the following places: iii. 156, twice in iii. 230, x. 359, xiv. 210. Here it might be taken with 'tangunt,' whatever altars they touch, but Juvenal's practice makes it probable he meant the other construction.

91. *esse deos et pejerat,*] 'Et' is equivalent to 'et tamen' (καίτοι), as in "probitas laudatur et alget" (i. 74). He believes there are gods, and yet he forswears himself. The deity he challenges is Isis. 'Sistrum' (from σείω) was a rattle much used at festivals of this goddess. He says Isis may strike her angry 'sistrum' on his eyes and blind him, still the temptation is too strong; he had rather lose his sight and keep the stolen money than keep his eyes and lose the money. The Latin name of the 'sistrum' is 'crepitaculum.'

95. *Et phthisis et vomicae putres*] 'Consumption and putrid abscesses and a broken leg' (xv. 57, n.).

96. *Sunt tanti.*] 'Tanti' may be translated "are worth bearing," where we understand readily that they are worth bearing for the sake of money. It may not be easy to extract this meaning from the sentence grammatically, but Madvig (in his 'Opuscula') has shown by abundant examples that 'tanti,' which at first meant the worth of the thing for which a price is given, came conventionally to be joined with the price itself as here. An instance of the primary use of 'tanti' is found in iii. 54: "Tanti tibi non sit opaci Omnis arena Tagi — ut somno careas." Madvig refers to x. 97: "Sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti Ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?" but I have followed the common reading 'tantum' there.

97. *Nec dubitet Ladas,*] Not even Ladas would hesitate to pray for the rich man's gout, unless he is mad. There were two celebrated Greek runners of this name, which was proverbial in this line. Gout, it appears, has always been the rich man's disorder. Archigenes was a physician. The final 'e' is long, corresponding to the Greek form ῃ. Anticyra was a town of Phocis, the neighborhood of which abounded in hellebore, the supposed remedy for insanity. Horace alludes to it more than once.

99. *Pisaeae ramus olivae?*] The plain of Olympia, in which the Olympic games were held, was very little west of the town of Pisa in Elis, and the names are sometimes confounded. It was at these games that both the Ladae on record won their prizes. His success cost one of them his life. The branch of the olive which, as before mentioned, was used for the crowns at Olympia (viii. 226, n.), Juvenal calls 'hungry' because it bore no fruit.

100. *Ut sit magna tamen*] "But grant the wrath of heaven is great, it certainly is slow." The speaker reverses the Greek proverb: "'Οψὲ θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά."

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience grinds He ever, still exactly grinds He all."

As to 'diadema,' see viii. 259, n. It is not hard to find cases in point. The Scholiast is safe and goes back as far as Romulus.

103. *solet his ignoscere.*] "He is wont to pardon such faults as these." This is the common salve for conscience. Men make most allowance for their own besetting sins, and think the Almighty does so too. They think also they can get pardon whenever they please for asking, and so they put off the asking; and few think otherwise than that their own day of account is some way off. To make a lottery of wickedness, and trust to prizes turning up and risk the fatal blank, is common enough. Solomon, who understood these matters, says: "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil" (Eccles. viii. 11). When the heart is "trepidum formidine culpae," trembling with fear of its own great guilt, it would seem the shortest and easiest course to abandon it; but it is more convenient to a

away such fear than to put away the cause of it. Juvenal knew what he was writing about.

107. *sacra ad delubra vocantem*] "If you mistrust him, and bid him come to the temple and swear by the altar, he will go there before you, nay, will be the first to challenge you to go there, and will abuse, and perhaps strike, you for doubting his honesty." The offended liar, taking the character of injured innocence, is amusingly illustrated in Falstaff. As to 'superest,' Gellius informs us that a misuse of the word came into fashion, as in the expression 'hic illi superest,' 'this is that man's advocate.' On some occasion the praetor, in reply to an advocate who said 'ego illi supersum,' wittily retorted, 'tu plane superes, non ades,' a joke difficult to translate; but he meant to say that the advocate was quite useless, for he was not doing an advocate's duty (adesse). 'Fiducia' is confidence (in a good sense), confidence in his own honesty.

110. *Mimum agit ille,*] 'All the while he is only acting like the runaway slave in some mimus of Catullus,' who is referred to on viii. 186, with his plays Phasma and Laureolus. The name of the slave in the play (here called 'scurra'), the Scholiast says, was Voranus. He was a great thief, and stole some money from a banker, on which there is a joke of which the point does not appear. 'Urbani' is 'witty.'

112. *ut Stentora vincere possis,*] Stentor was the Greek herald with the mighty voice in Homer; his voice was as loud as the shout of fifty men. But Ares, when Diomed wounded him, according to the poet, shouted as loud as nine thousand or ten thousand men in battle.

113. *Audis, Juppiter, haec*] 'Labra movere' is opposed to 'mittere vocem;' the one is a suppressed cry hardly audible, the other loud. 'Nec' is 'not even.'

115. *Debueras*] 'It had been thy duty to speak out hadst thou been marble or bronze.' The use of this form for 'debuisses' has been noticed above on iii. 163. As to Vagellius, the name occurs below, xvi. 23. The person is unknown. The writer must have had some statue in his mind. The Scholiast says Vagellius was a great fool, but like the gods he got a statue. 'Omentum' is properly the membrane that covers the bowels, and the word is so used still. Here it means the entrails.

120. *Accipe quae contra*] He begs him to accept such consolation as even he, who professes to be no philosopher, never to have read the dogmas of Cynics or Stoics, and to be no admirer of Epicurus, may be able to offer him. The name of the Cynics was given them in the time of their founder, Antisthenes, immediately after the death of Socrates, his teacher. But the popular idea of their character is derived more from Diogenes of Sinope, the crabbed disciple of Antisthenes. The Stoic school was founded full three-quarters of a century after the Cynic by Zeno, who had in his earlier studies attached himself to the Cynics, but modified his opinions, and gave to the views of that school a more general and expansive character. But the Stoics, too, became more contracted under the successors of their founder, and in the popular notions of Juvenal's time, as in our own, there was much difference between the two systems. Juvenal professes to

know them merely by name, and says they only differed by a tunic. The Cynics were called διπλοείματοι from wearing the cloak or rug which formed their only covering double, that it might serve as a bed and blanket at night. They wore this rug (abolla) so that the right shoulder was bare. They were also called familiarly ἀχίτωνες, which explains Juvenal's meaning. Any of these schools would have blamed Calvinus for his repining, one from contemptuous disregard for money and disbelief of all honesty, the second from professedly higher philosophical motives, and the third because such vexation and all sorts of excitement only interfered needlessly with the enjoyment of life. Epicurus opened his school at Athens, B.C. 306, and taught there about thirty-six years till his death. 'Et' means 'even.' 'Non' (verse 122) stands for 'nec.'

123. *Suspicit exigui*] 'Suspicit' is 'looks up to,' and it would seem that the first meaning of 'sub' was 'up.' This is plainly shown in many compounds. Epicurus, though he advocated animal pleasure, was an abstemious liver upon principle, and fond of gardening; and it was in a garden he bought in the middle of Athens that he taught all the time he lived there. His successors taught there too, for he left it to his school.

124. *Curentur dubii*] 'Dubii' means in a critical state. As to the combination, see on viii. 49. Juvenal says patients in a dangerous state may apply to great doctors; but his friend's disorder is slight, and he may trust to the phlebotomy of a pupil of Philippus, who represents some small or bungling practitioner of the day.

126. *Si nullum in terris*] Juvenal may or may not have had in mind Stertinius's words to Damasippus about madness: "hoc si erit in te Solo, nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam" (Hor. S. ii. 3. 41).

129. *claudenda est janua damno,*] Roman houses were shut when one of the family died, as with us. 'Hoc' (verse 132) does not refer to the latter clause, but to that which is most prominent in the writer's mind; see x. 326. The mourner is not content to tear only the top of his tunic instead of rending it from top to bottom, and to torment his eyes with forced tears (crocodile's tears).

135. *Sed si cuncta vides*] 'Sed' goes back to verse 129, after a Juvenal-like digression. 'Sed' is commonly used after digressions.

136. *Si decies lectis*] This is a difficult sentence. 'Decies' seems to be put for any large number of times, and 'diversa parte' to mean in different parts of the town. The meaning then would be: "If it often happens, not here or there, but in various places (in all the fora), that debtors, when their acknowledgments are read over to them, say their bonds are void, and the tables they are written upon are worthless, though their own writing and their own choicest seal convict them, do you think you, my fine gentleman, are to be placed beyond the common pale of suffering?" 'Chirographa' and 'syngraphae' were used in later times as equivalent words for bonds, notes of hand, or agreements. 'Ligni' is the wooden waxed tablets (tabellae) on which they wrote. The very writing convicted the man, his acknowledgment of the deposit.

141. *Qui tu gallinae filius albae,*] The eggs of a white hen, it appears, were held in higher estimation than others. The bird must have been more or less rare, or the distinction would not have arisen. 'Qui' is 'how.' The apodosis for 'si flectas' seems better supplied from 'ferendam' than from 'pateris.'

145. *sulfure coepta Atque dolo,*] 'Sulfure atque dolo' is one subject, 'sulfure doloso' or 'cum dolo posito,' sulphur stealthily laid, matches perhaps like our own.

146. *quum janua colligit ignes:*] These incendiary acts seem to have been not uncommon. Accidental or malicious fires were so frequent that they are counted among the vexations of the city from which the man in Sat. iii. chose to retire (verse 7). Nero plundered the temple at Delphi, and it is possible Juvenal had him in mind in the next clause.

150. *minor exstat sacrilegus qui Radat*] 'There starts up a petty thief to scrape the thigh of a gilt Hercules.' This is the subjunctive of the purpose. See A. 64, 1; H. 500; B. 1212.

153. *An dubitet solitus*] I can make no sense out of this line as it stands. He says, compare with your man those who carry off great venerable cups from temples. If these are not to be found, then comes a thief in a lower way, to scrape the gilding from the statues. Would he hesitate, seeing it is his wont to melt down an entire Jove? 'Solitus' must be wrong, I think.

154. *mercatoremque veneni*] 'Mercatorem' is equivalent to 'emptorem' here. The crime alluded to in the next line is 'parricidium' (viii. 213, n.). Though 'parricidium' included the murder of relations to some distance in point of consanguinity, this punishment only applied to the murderers of father or mother, grandfather or grandmother. 'Fatis' is the ablative of quality.

157. *custos Gallicus Urbis*] Rutilius Gallicus was Praefectus Urbi in the reign of Domitian. Respecting that office, see iv. 77, n. 'Ibi' is readily supplied with 'consume' from 'illinc' in the next verse. As to 'quota pars,' see iii. 61, n. The name of Domitian's Gallicus is used for the Praefectus Urbi of the day, whoever he was, if the date apparently pointed out by verse 17 is the true one.

162. *Quis tumidum guttur*] This is the disease known as goitre, or by medical men as bronchocele. The sufferers were called 'gutturosi.' As to the swelled breast in Meroe nothing is known. Some commentators suppose Juvenal speaks from observation during his residence in Egypt. Tacitus says of the Germans that they all had fierce blue eyes, red (or golden) hair, and large bodies. 'Germanum' must be supplied for 'torquentem.'

166. *Nempe quod haec illis*] 'Nempe quod' assumes that the answer to the foregoing questions is 'Nemo,' and his meaning is that as some one feature runs through each of these different peoples, and therefore nobody is astonished when he sees it among them, so it is at Rome where villanous characters abound, and nobody is surprised to find them, any more than among the pygmies anybody laughs at the ridiculous fights between those little people and the cranes. The point

of the illustration is in the last line, the size of the people. They are all one height, and so they are not remarkable. It is a curious thought. Something that does not appear may have suggested it.

167. *Ad subitas Thracum volucres*] These are the cranes, of which Threiciae, Strymoniae, are perpetual epithets. The home of the pygmies is unknown. The cranes' crooked talons have scandalized some commentators. I dare say Juvenal believed they had talons. It answered his purpose at any rate to represent them so, and he thought nothing more about it. In the East the sudden appearance of clouds of birds, no one can tell where from, when any prey is to be had, is very surprising. This is expressed in 'subitas.' The cry of the crane is such that the flock may be heard very high up in the air after it has passed out of sight.

172. *Quanquam eadem assidue*] For the subjunctive with 'quanquam,' see A. 61, 4, *d*; H. 516, I., 3; B. 1285.

175. *Abreptum crede hunc*] This is the answer. "Suppose he is carried off to prison and put to death, what do you gain by that?" By using 'nostro' he makes his friend's case his own.

178. *sed corpore trunco*] "But all you'll get will be the odious consolation of a very little blood shed from a headless corpse." 'At' in the next line is the common introduction to an objection or reply.

181. *Nempe hoc indocti,*] After 'hoc,' 'arbitrantur' or 'dicunt' is readily supplied. By 'indocti' the Roman writers commonly meant those who had not become acquainted with the doctrines of the philosophers. Equability of temper was a fundamental doctrine in the teaching of nearly all the schools, and nothing could be more opposed to that teaching than the excitement of a passionate vindictiveness. Juvenal writes as a philosopher and quotes philosophers to support him.

184. *Chrysippus non dicet idem*] Chrysippus succeeded Cleanthes, the successor of Zeno, as the head of the Stoic school. Reference is made to him in Hor. S. ii. 3. Juvenal says above that he had never read the Stoics' works, and he probably takes Chrysippus's name at random. The legends of Thales were all more or less fabulous, and, his person being uncertain, his character is still more so. He belonged to the Ionic school, and is said to have held that water was the substratum of all things. He is represented as having been very active in political life, and to have directed his people, the Milesians, in their wars. As to the form of words, compare iv. 39. Socrates has been mentioned in this way in vii. 206. There is no warrant for supposing that his accuser wanted to destroy himself, and that Socrates refused him a share of his poison. Juvenal says he would not have given him a share if he had wanted it. 'Nollet' is used by a common construction for 'noluisset.' See A. 59, 3, *c*; H. 486, 4. Horace calls him 'Anyti reum.' Three persons got up the case against him; the other two were Meletus and Lycon. Hymettus, greater and lesser, is the range that bounds the plain of Athens on the south-east. The honey for which it was famous got it the epithet 'dulcis.'

185. *dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,*] 'Que' is used like 'et' in verse 44.

187. *Plurima felix*] He says, "Philosophy is the means of happiness, and by degrees divests us of the greater part of natural defects and all our faults of judgment; 'twas she first taught us right from wrong, for certainly it's only dwarfed, infirm, and little minds that love revenge; which you may gather straight from this, that no one likes it better than a woman." 'Minutus' is a participle, and had better here be rendered as such. 'Vitia' are faults of nature, some of which cannot be eradicated. 'Errores' correspond to 'culpas,' and are faults of practice. As to 'Sapientia,' see on verse 20.

192. *Cur tamen*] These lines are very vigorous. He begins to illustrate what he said in the first four lines. 'Attonitos' is used as in xii. 21. On 'surdo,' see note on vii. 71. Who Caedicius was it is impossible to say. The Scholiast tells us he was a courtier and most cruel satellite of Nero. Rhadamanthus was one of the judges in the lower world.

199. *Spartano cuidam respondit*] This story is put by Herodotus into the mouth of Leotychides, the Spartan, in an address to the Athenians. He warns them against breaking their faith by relating the fate of one Glaucus who bore the highest reputation for honesty in all Sparta. A man of Miletus came to him and said that, in consequence of his reputation for just dealing, he wished to deposit half his fortune with him. Glaucus accepted the deposit, and promised to restore the money to any one who should produce certain tokens and claim it. This the man's sons afterwards did; but Glaucus professed to have forgotten all about the matter, and required four months to refresh his memory. This time he employed in consulting the oracle at Delphi as to whether he might not keep the money and swear he had never received it. The answer of the oracle was conveyed in seven hexameters denouncing dreadful punishment on the breaker of oaths; and Glaucus, begging pardon of the god, paid the money. The priestess did not let him go without a wholesome warning, saying, τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι, he who tempts God is as bad as he who does the wickedness which it is in his mind to do. Leotychides winds up his story by saying that Glaucus had not one descendant left, but his whole house was extinct; and his moral is that a good man has no other thought about a deposit than to return it when it is called for.

200. *quod dubitaret Depositum retinere*] We should say 'dubitavit reddere,' he hesitated about restoring. But he also hesitated about keeping the money, and that was his offence.

209. *Nam scelus intra se tacitum*] It has been thought that Juvenal could not have got this sentiment without the light of Christianity, in the moral teaching of which no doubt it is a fundamental rule. But the ethics of Christianity are no new invention. They do but enforce the teaching of conscience, which has only to be free and it will tell a man, without further revelation, that evil desires are sin, especially in the case that Juvenal supposes, where cowardice, not principle (moribus, verse 204), prevents the accomplishment of them. The Roman law adopted the principle of punishing for the intention to commit a ime, just the same as if the crime were committed. But as a man's

intention (voluntas) cannot be discovered unless he shows it by some act, the law properly looked to what the man did as the evidence of what he intended to do; and accordingly if he failed to do what his act showed that he intended to do, he was punished just as if he had accomplished his purpose.

210. *Cedo si conata peregit?*] "Come tell me what if he has accomplished his purpose?" He means Calvinus's man. The man's condition under the effects of a bad conscience is powerfully imagined.

213. *Difficili crescente cibo:*] This expresses a common feeling which I have never seen expressed in modern books: the jaws, weary with weakness and want of appetite, trying vainly to grind the meat that mocks them. Sick persons and those in grief know what this means.

sed vina misellus] 'Sed' means 'not only so, but even his wine the poor wretch cannot swallow;' or it may be taken as meaning 'sed tamen:' "though his jaws are dry, he cannot swallow his wine." The Alban wine is mentioned in v. 33. Falernian wine was strong and required keeping. 'Si' is omitted from the protasis of the conditional sentence in verses 215–6.

218. *jam membra quiescunt,*] 'Jam' is 'at length.'

220. *mentem sudoribus urget,*] This is a strong and expressive word for 'terroribus,' but not so used elsewhere, I believe; compare i. 167. 'Sacra' is explained by 'major humana.' The old poets would render it "thy religious ghost." 'Imago' is the unsubstantial body (εἴδωλον) of the dead. Here it is used for a supernatural vision of the living. 'Hi' means 'such as he.'

225. *Non quasi fortuitus*] 'Fortuitus' is to be pronounced as a word of three syllables by synizesis. Horace makes the 'i' long in "Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem" (C. ii. 15. 17). Forcellini however thinks it is common. The authorities, except these two places, are inferior writers. The ancients believed that thunderbolts, lightning, and meteors either came from the stars with messages to mankind, or arose from accidental physical causes. These latter they called 'bruta fulmina' or 'fortuita,' the others 'fatidica.' 'Judicet' means 'it comes to judge and punish men.'

227. *Illa nihil nocuit,*] 'Suppose that has done him no harm, he is all the more anxious, waiting for the next storm, as if it was only kept off by this short lull.' Those who have witnessed a tropical storm know, without the help of a guilty conscience, the ominous character of the first lull.

233. *Laribus cristam promittere galli*] See note on xii. 96, and as to 'sacello,' see x. 354, n. With 'nocentibus aegris,' compare verse 124. It means 'the sick if they be guilty.'

235. *vel quae non dignior hostia vita?*] This is most severe of all. The life of any animal that could be offered in sacrifice was worth more than his. The theory of sacrifice rests upon the innocence of the victim, and mischievous animals would not be accepted.

236. *Mobilis et varia est*] He says, by way of consoling his friend, that the man who has cheated him is sure to come to punishment; for such is generally (ferme) the nature of the wicked that they fluctuate between sin and remorse; while their crime is doing, they are firm

enough; and when it is done, they find out when it is too late (tandem) the difference between right and wrong; but then again they go back to the practices which conscience had condemned. The Jewish proverbs, "As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly," and "The sow that was washed has returned to its wallowing in the mire," will occur to every one.

240. *mutari nescia:*] The verb is in the middle voice. It depends on 'nescia' as if that were a participle. See Z. 598; H. 552, 3; B. 1157; A. 57, 8, *c*.

242. *attrita de fronte*] This is like 'frons durior' in viii. 189. 'Dabit in laqueum vestigia' is he will put his foot in his own snare, he will be caught in his guilt some day and suffer for it, he will be strangled in prison and dragged out with a hook as criminals were (see x. 66, "Sejanus ducitur unco"), or banished to Seriphos or some of those places (see i. 73, and x. 170). 'Exsulibus magnis' does not mean that they were great in any thing but wickedness. 'Nominis' means the man, a common use of ὄνομα, but not of 'nomen.' Tiresias the prophet of Thebes was blind. He is introduced in Hor. S. ii. 5.

SATIRE XIV.

THIS satire contains some golden rules, and is throughout written in Juvenal's best style. It exposes one of the radical causes of the prevailing immorality, which was the contagious example and bad teaching of parents, acting from their earliest years upon their children. In a vicious home nothing but vice can be learnt, partly from the force of infection, and partly because teaching cannot as a general rule rise above practice, and he who parades his faults before his child cannot even reprove that child if he adopts them. There is not a more pregnant sentence in any author than "Maxima debetur pueris reverentia." It is a truth which the better instincts of mankind at once acknowledge, and it could not have been better expressed or supported in more dignified language than Juvenal has here used. It would have been pleasant if his experience or the scope of his satire had admitted of his drawing a picture of a home in which virtue grows by the same means as vice grows by in others, and showing us how domestic example and the influence of a happy home act on the characters of men and the well-being of society.

The inherited vices of which Juvenal speaks are gaming, luxurious living, violence of temper, contempt for inferiors, sensuality, extravagance, superstition, and avarice. The greater part of the satire is taken up with the last. Once only he touches shortly on the influence of mothers' example on their daughters. There is, as might be ex-

pected, a reference to the simplicity of the olden time, and there are one or two pictures, as of the anxious host (59, sqq.) and the soldier's family (166, sqq.), such as Juvenal sketches with peculiar power. The satire belongs to about the same date as the preceding one.

ARGUMENT. — There is many a disgraceful habit which parents teach their children. What can you hope of the boy whose father is a glutton or cruel to his household? what of the girl who cannot count her mother's paramours (1–30)? Home examples corrupt most speedily of all. Keep then from wrong for this reason, if for no other; for all are easily taught vice (31–43). Great reverence is due to boys. Whatever wrong you do, your son will grow up like you; and then you will want to punish him for the very thing that you have done (44–58). You cleanse your house when you expect guests; do you not care that your son may see a spotless home? The fledged bird is sure to seek the kind of food which its mother brought to the nest. You waste money in building, he will do the same; you follow Jewish customs, he will go to greater lengths in them (59–106). The young are forced against their will to imitate avarice. They are deceived by its garb of gravity and by the praise it gets. See how the father trains his son in every sort of stinginess! What madness! As money grows, the love of it grows too. So men resort to any means to get more houses and wider fields. Who cares what the world says? We cannot be satisfied with the way in which rustics lived years ago (107–188). Now you set your son to studying or to seeking the honors of war — in fact, to getting money in any way. But you need not be so anxious. The pupil will outstrip the teacher. His rich wife will not live long. Nay, you yourself, who have taught him to lie and cheat, will not escape; you had best buy antidotes soon (189–255). It is as good as a play to see how men work for money. They sail over the sea, running greater risks than the rope-dancer runs; they do not care for storms; they have to swim for life, and then perhaps to beg (256–302). Diogenes was not afraid of a fire; Alexander learned from him the foolishness of avarice and discontent. Get along with as little as you can; Nature and Philosophy both bid you do this. But you will not be satisfied, unless you have as much as Croesus or the Persian kings or our Emperor's favorite freedman (303–331).

1. *Plurima sunt*] There are many habits which deserve to be evil spoken of, and which fasten upon fair things a stain that will never leave them. The fair things are the unspoilt minds of children. These habits corrupt their minds, and get them bad repute. 'Figere' and 'haerere' both express the lasting mischief these practices do. 'Monstrant traduntque' is they not only show these practices in their own conduct, but teach them to their children. 'Tradere' is a common word for teaching. As to 'alea,' see xi. 176, n., and i. 88, n. The kind of gaming here alluded to is explained in the next verse, where 'arma' means the 'tali' or 'tesserae,' and 'fritillus' was the box from which they were thrown. Other names for the box were 'pyrgus' (πύργος) or 'turricula' and 'phimus' (φιμός). 'Heres' is equivalent to 'filius,' here and in xii. 95, since a man's children were

all his 'heredes' if they were in his power at his death. As to 'bullatus,' see v. 164, n.

7. *qui radere tubera terrae,*] See v. 116, n., "tradentur tubera," and v. 147, n., "Boletus domino." 'Juvenis' is opposed to 'heres bullatus;' the comparison is expressed in 'nec melius.' 'Eodem jure' is the mushroom sauce. The 'ficedula' is the 'beccafico' of modern Italy, which is also a regular visitor of England, and one of the sweetest songsters in spring and summer. Pettychaps is the English naturalist's name for it. By the older English writers it was called Cyprus-bird, and they speak of it as a great delicacy.

10. *Quum septimus annus*] Children for the first seven years were 'infantes.' 'Pueritia' was not a legal term, and was loosely employed, though it was commonly used for those 'impuberes' who were not 'infantes,' that is from seven to fourteen, or when the 'toga virilis' was taken.. 'Barbatos' is equivalent to 'wise and learned.'

13. *lauto coenare paratu*] The common word is 'apparatus,' as in Horace, C. i. 38, "Persicos odi puer apparatus."

15. *Mitem animum*] He asks whether Rutilus (any passionate savage master) teaches his son the value of a gentle temper and a calm habit that seldom goes wrong, and that slaves are, body and soul, made of the same material as ourselves ('nostra materia'), or to act the ruffian like himself, when he sets him the example of flogging them and delights in the sound of the lash.

20. *Antiphates trepidi Laris*] He says he is the Antiphates and Polyphemus of his trembling household. The first was king of the giant Laestrygones in Sicily, who sunk the ships of Ulysses and ate up one of his men (Odyss. x. 80–132). This poor wretch of Rutilus's is supposed to be put to the torture of fire for the loss of a couple of towels. There were no legal limits to the torturing of slaves, at least till the time of the Antonines.

23. *laetus stridore catenae,*] See xi. 80 and viii. 180, n. on 'ergastula.' 'Inscripta' means the brand upon the forehead of the slaves, as F for 'fugitivus,' and so forth. The branded 'ergastula' are the branded slaves who worked there. Juvenal adds 'carcer Rusticus' to 'ergastula' by way of comparing those dens of suffering with the 'carcer' at Rome.

27. *tanto poterit contexere cursu*] She cannot string them together at such a pace (as we say) but that she must take breath thirty times in the telling. When she was quite a girl, she was her mother's accomplice; now she writes at her mother's dictation her own little love letters, and sends them by the same wretches her mother had employed before her. In this satire on parents this is the only reference to mothers. 'Cinaedis' is here only a term of disgust, "wretches." 'Ferre' would be 'ferendas' in classical prose. A. 57, 8, *f*, 3, and see 64, 2; H. 553, v.; B. 1160.

33. *Quum subeunt animos*] Juvenal says "more rapidly and suddenly are we corrupted by the examples of vices when they are found in our own home, that is when they enter our minds with the weight of great authority;" the second clause is supplemental to the first. As to

'auctoribus,' see viii. 216, "deis auctoribus," 'on the authority of the gods.'

35. *finxit praecordia Titan;*] That is, Prometheus. See viii. 183, n. He says some few young men may reject these examples, who are made of better stuff than others, but the rest follow in their fathers' steps which they ought to avoid, and the track of vice which has been long before their eyes. 'Orbita' is properly the track of a wheel.

38. *hujus enim vel*] 'Hujus' depends upon 'potens:' there is one reason (even if there were but one, 'vel una') that commands this.

41. *Turpibus ac pravis*] Both these words are applied to the human shape, and they may be here translated as they come together 'ugly and deformed.' 'Pravus' is 'awry.'

42. *quocunque sub axe;*] See viii. 116, n. on "Gallicus axis," and xiii. 89, as to 'quocunque.' He says a Catiline you may find in any clime, a Brutus or a Cato nowhere. M. Porcius Cato of Utica was the half-brother of Servilia, mother of M. Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar. These two men bear no comparison in point of character. It was enough for Juvenal and those who thought and felt with him that they were both opponents of Caesar and reputed friends of liberty. Cato was a man of rigid virtue and a suitable example for this place. Brutus had less that was noble in his private character. Juvenal does not always select his examples very fitly. Catilina was as depraved in private as in public life, and his dissolute morals and extravagance led him into those desperate acts that cost him and his friends their lives. Cato's parents both died when he was a child, and in this matter the examples are not well chosen. The father of Brutus was a respectable man, though of his mother much scandal was spread in connection with C. Julius Caesar.

44. *Nil dictu foedum*] This means 'foul language.' 'Auditu' would be more in accordance with 'visu' and the sense. 'Hinc — inde' is equivalent to 'ubique.' 'Puellae lenonum' are 'meretrices.' 'Pernoctantis parasiti' is the contemptible guest who for a dinner sits up all night drinking or gaming or both, and singing low songs, with the master of the house, to his shame before the children. 'Pernoctare' is to pass the night away from home.

48. *ne tu pueri contempseris annos,*] "Do not despise the child's age or think he is too young to take notice:" an excellent remark, as every parent knows. 'Tu' is commonly used to give point to a general piece of advice. Compare M. 370, obs. 2. On the use of the tense in 'contempseris,' see M. 386; A. 57, 3 and *b*; H. 488, II., 2; B. 1114.

51. *Quandoque*] 'Quandoque' after 'si' is like 'olim,' 'aliquando,' 'some day.' See M. 493, *a*; Z. 708. He says "if your boy some day does something worthy of the censor's displeasure, and not only shows himself like you in form and face, but as the son and inheritor of your character and one to follow in your steps and exaggerate all your faults, then of course you will take him up and reproach him loudly and bitterly and threaten to alter your will." He speaks sarcastically.

56. *Unde tibi frontem*] The verb to be supplied is 'paras' or 'parabis.' The ellipsis is like that with 'quo' in verse 135. See references on viii. 9. 'Frontem' is here the commanding brow of one in authority. In xi. 204, "salva fronte" means 'without shame.'

57. *vacuumque cerebro*] This means that the man is mad and wants cupping. 'Cucurbita' is a cupping-glass, so called from its having the shape of a gourd, which is the first meaning of the word. The 'cucurbita' is called 'ventosa' from ignorance of the principle on which it acts, as the word 'ventosa' was used alone for a cupping-glass in mediaeval Latin. A partial vacuum is created in the cup, which being so applied to any part of the body removes the pressure of the air from that spot and causes a rush of blood to it. The ancients used both dry cupping and bleeding as we do for affections of the head in particular. The cup was usually of bronze or of horn. 'Caput hoc' is dramatic, as if he put his finger on the man's forehead.

59. *Hospite venturo*] He goes on to say that a great fuss is made when company is coming, to get the house in order and to make a show with the plate, furniture, and marble. The master rushes about like a madman with a stick in his hand, calling to the slaves to do their work. But is it not of more consequence, he asks, that your son should see your home free from vice and spotless, than that your friend should see your furniture in that condition? The picture is well drawn and the moral well applied. 'Vasa aspera' are opposed to 'vasa pura.' See x. 19, n. These latter are here called 'leve argentum.' 'Arida' may apply to the spider in the sense of lean and withered, or to the web, for which it is a fit epithet, as 'dry.'

66. *Nec perfusa luto*] He would not have the 'atrium,' which was the first room the guests would enter, show that dogs had been there, nor have him see the 'porticus' even splashed with rain. This was outside the house. Perhaps, however, he means the 'peristylium' or else the galleries on each side of the 'impluvium.' In any case it was open to the weather. The plural 'atria' is commonly used by the poets for the convenience of their verse; but as the room had two wings (alae) opening upon it, and the whole formed one apartment, the plural is not without meaning. This being the most public room in the house and open to the sky, dogs may have had greater license there than in other rooms.

uno Semodio scobis] With half a modius of saw-dust, which the Romans commonly used for cleaning the floors, especially after dinner when the scraps were cleared away; usually it was scented. The 'semodius' was very nearly a gallon of our measure. 'Unus' twice repeated, 'semodio,' and 'servulus' are all emphatic, to mark the trifling character of the job and the folly of the master's excitement. 'Omnis' is rarely used for 'ullus.' See M. 494, note 1 (p. 460).

70. *patriae civem populoque dedisti*] "You have given your country (and a welcome gift it is) a good citizen, if you have made him (your son) fit for her service." 'Idoneus' is explained by what follows. 'Civis' is a word always used with respect.

73. *Plurimum enim intererit*] 'Enim' means that it depends upon the

father whether the son proves a good citizen, for it will make a great difference in what way he trains him. There is this force in 'tu.'

74. *Serpente ciconia pullos*] Pliny says that in Thessaly storks were held in such esteem for destroying snakes that it was a capital offence to kill them.

77. *crucibusque relictis*] See Horace (Epp. i. 16. 48): "Non hominem occidi. Non pasces in cruce corvos;" and Prudentius (Hymn. xi.): "Crux illum tollat in auras Viventesque oculos offerat alitibus;" and from the Acts of the Martyrs this sentence on three Christians: "Claudius, Asterius, Neon, cruci affigantur et corpora eorum avibus laceranda relinquantur." Apuleius speaks of "patibuli cruciatum cum canes et vultures intima protrahunt viscera." Poor wretches dying by inches were probably watched for days by these ravenous birds, who never attack a body while the life is in it.

79. *Hic est ergo cibus*]. 'Ergo' is 'for this reason,' because the vulture is so fed when young, when it grows to full size it seeks the same food; but the eagles seek prey in the woods, and their young ones learn to do the same. 'Ponitur' is used in some sort as it is commonly used for serving up food or putting it before the guests (see xi. 109, n.). Grangaeus reminds us that vultures do not build their nests in trees, but in rocks. Gifford too observes that "the eagle is scarcely more delicate in the choice of his food than the vulture," and that it is a vulgar prejudice to suppose he will not touch carrion. 'Et' couples 'generosae aves' with 'famulae Jovis.' Only the eagle is meant.

83. *quum se matura levabit*] The use of the future seems peculiar. If 'festinat' were future in form as it is in sense, we should expect 'levaverit' in the future perfect.

86. *Aedificator erat Cetronius,*] 'Aedificator' is used for one who is too much given to building. The Romans suffered from this passion. See above, i. 94 and x. 225. Horace often alludes to it. In short there were as many who ruined or hampered their estates by this tempting folly in Rome as in this country.

87. *Litore Caietae,*] Caieta (Gaeta) was on the promontory that bounds the gulf of the same name at the southern extremity of Latium. It was four miles from Formiae which now bears the name. At Formiae Cicero had a villa, and between those two places the shore was covered with houses. As to 'Tiburis arce' and 'Praeneste,' see iii. 190, 192.

89. *Graecis longeque petitis*] The Greek marbles used by the Romans were from Hymettus and Pentelicus in Attica, from Taenarus in Laconia, from Carystus in Euboea, and from the island of Paros. The other foreign marbles were chiefly African, from Syene and from Numidia; there was stone also from Synnada in Phrygia.

90. *Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,*] There was a very ancient temple of Fortuna at Praeneste. The temple was much beautified by Sulla who laid there the first mosaic pavement known in Italy. A pavement (the Barberini at Rome) has been found there of very finished workmanship, which is supposed by some to be Sulla's, but

by others to belong to the reign of Hadrian, that is not far from the time when this satire was written. The cathedral of Tivoli is built on the foundations of the temple of Hercules, who was worshipped above other gods at Tibur. The enormous buildings erected by Hadrian at the foot of the hills of Tibur could hardly have been built when Juvenal wrote these verses, or they would probably have been referred to, for in magnificence they surpassed any thing in Italy. Their ruins are the admiration of travellers.

91. *Ut spado vincebat*] Posides was a freedman of Claudius the emperor, favored and afterwards suspected by him. Where he built his magnificent house does not appear. It may have been near his baths at Baiae. 'Capitolia nostra' is here opposed to the temples at Praeneste and Tibur; but large temples of Jupiter in other towns, besides the great temple in Rome, were sometimes called Capitolium. The plural is used (as in x. 65) because of the tripartite character of the building (xii. 3, n.).

93. *Fregit opes,*] This is the common verb in this case. We use the same when we speak of breaking.

94. *turbavit filius amens,*] See vii. 129, "Sic Pedo conturbat." The use of 'dum' with the present followed by a verb in the perfect tense, which here occurs twice over, is common. See A. 58, 2, *e*; H. 467, 4; and compare i. 59, and elsewhere.

96. *metuentem sabbata patrem*] He goes on to say that some men whose fathers were superstitious and paid respect to the Jewish religion go further and turn Jews. 'Metus,' 'metuo,' are ordinarily used for religious fear (verse 101). From the courts of the temple being uncovered the Jews were supposed by the vulgar to worship the skies.

98. *Nec distare putant*] That is, they abstain from hog's flesh as they would from man's. The quadrupeds forbidden to the Israelites for food were all which did not chew the cud and were not cloven-footed (Levit. xi.).

102. *Tradidit arcano*] This is merely random talk. There was nothing analogous in the books of Moses to the 'arcana' of the Roman worship, though they were looked upon as unintelligible and were therefore supposed to have a mysterious meaning revealed to the initiated only.

103. *Non monstrare vias*] He says the law of Moses teaches Jews not to show any one the way except he be a Jew, nor to tell the tired traveller where he may quench his thirst. The Romans might be forgiven for this interpretation of the law of Moses when the Jews' own traditions and teachers told them they must love their neighbor and hate their enemy (see St. Matt. v. 43); and Jew and Samaritan thought it strange that our Saviour asked for water from a Samaritan woman and talked with her. The old law was not of this tenor. "If thine enemy be hungry give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty give him water to drink," is Solomon's interpretation of the law (Prov. xxv. 21); and the parable of the good Samaritan succoring a Jew was used to illustrate the fundamental rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." See besides Ex. xxiii. 4, 5. 'Monstrare' and 'deducere' are in a kind of apposition with 'jus.'

107. *Sponte tamen juvenes*] But though young men are only too prone to imitate, yet there is one vice of which this cannot be said; to avarice they are not only not prone, but even averse ('inviti quoque'). This is true generally, but not universally. 'Quoque' is equivalent to 'etiam' or 'vel;' the usage has been noticed above. 'Fallit enim' is elliptical; they are bid and they do as they are bid, for they are deceived by the appearance of virtue, though it is but the shadow, which this vice wears. 'Habitu' is the general appearance, and applies equally to 'vultu' and 'veste.' 'Frugi' is always used in a good sense for 'prudent' or 'thrifty.' 'Tutela' is used for 'tutor' by a common figure of speech — "metonomy."

114. *Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus.*] The Hesperides watched the apples and the serpent Ladon watched the Hesperides Hercules killed him. The golden fleece of Colchis in Pontus was also guarded by a serpent, but Medea put him to sleep and Jason took the fleece. The miser watching his treasures is said to watch better than this. As to the Hesperides, see above, v. 152, n.

hunc de Quo loquor] Juvenal supposes a respectable-looking person of this sort, such as the father might point out to his son as an instance of the benefits of thriftiness.

115. *putat acquirendi*] Public opinion treats the man as a workman diligent in his calling, which is to make money, and this he gets any way he can, plying the anvil and working the forge from morning till night.

119. *Et pater ergo*] "The father too, as I said;" another instance of 'ergo' in this sense (see x. 54, n.). The young are taken in by the reputation the miser gets, and they are also influenced by their fathers' example and precept.

120. *Qui miratur opes,*] He is not speaking of all fathers, for some are extravagant, but of the money-loving father. And so he says the father thinks the covetous happy, that is, he who admires wealth and thinks there never was an instance of a man who was at once poor and favored by heaven; such a man advises his sons to go that road and adhere to that sect (as if they were the only philosophers). 'Felices' are happy men; 'beati' are those who prosper or are favored by the gods. 'Pauper' is not used for an indigent person, but for one of small means, and such may prosper; but this father thinks not, because the more a man has the more he gets.

123. *Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa;*] He says all vices have their elements as every science has, and in teaching their children this vice of covetousness fathers begin with petty acts of meanness, and afterwards teach it them on the largest scale.

126. *Servorum ventres*] He here gives a description of avarice, such as these fathers would furnish examples of, and the form of the satire changes. He is speaking of the domestic arrangements of the miser, in which he punishes himself not less than his wretched slaves. He serves out their allowance of corn in a false measure, while he starves himself.

127. *neque enim omnia sustinet*] 'Neque' is 'not even.' 'Sustinere'

is often used in this way, as the Greeks used τλῆναι, and as we say 'a man cannot bear to do a thing.' 'Minutal' is minced meat mixed with chopped vegetables and other things. To keep this from one day to another in the closest month of the year was a dirty trick. As to 'conchem' and 'sectivi porri,' see iii. 293. 'Lacertus' was the name of some coarse sea-fish which they used to salt and dry. The 'silurus' has been mentioned before, iv. 33. This man seals up the fragments of his miserable supper, at a time of the year when they cannot fail to stink next day, and counts every fibre of his leeks, and shuts them up in the cupboard too. 'Aestivam' belongs in meaning to the whole predicate.

134. *aliquis de ponte*] See iv. 116, n. The use of the future tense is easily explained. In prose, however, we should probably find 'negaret' or 'neget.'

135. *Sed quo divitias*] As to 'quo,' see verse 56. We may supply 'paras' or some equivalent word. 'Phrenesis' seems to have been borrowed from the Greek after Cicero's time. It was a general term for insanity, while 'furor' commonly and in legal language meant madness with violence.

138. *quum turget sacculus*] He begins with a small bag, and when that is full he wants more. Instead of spending his fortune the man invests it in farms. The 'villa' here meant is a 'villa rustica,' a farm house, as opposed to 'villa urbana,' a suburban house. It is equivalent to 'fundus,' a farm and the buildings on it.

145. *Quorum si pretio*] It seems scarcely credible, but Juvenal writes as if he had had experience of what he was describing. After 'talia' we must understand 'damna,' or something like it. The 'injuria' is a wrong like that just mentioned.

152. *Sed qui sermones!*] "But what talk there will be! what a foul blast will rumor blow!" "What harm can she do me?" says the other; "I do not value at a bean-shell the praise of the whole neighborhood, if I am to be owner of no more than a miserable little farm." (That is, if they will only praise me on those terms.) For the construction with 'quam si,' see A. 61, 1; H. 506. It is an instance of suppressed conclusion. "Of course then (is the rejoinder) you will gain exemption from the sufferings of humanity, and have your life prolonged and happier than you have ever known it, while you have got as much land under cultivation as the Romans had in the time of Tatius the Sabine king;" that is, at the time when, according to the received story, Tatius and the Sabines were inhabiting the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and Romulus the Palatine, and the two peoples joined and became one under their respective kings. The extent of land possessed by the Romans at that time, which represents the earliest period of their history, must have been very small. The 'ager Romanus' at a period much later did not extend above five miles from the Pomoerium (the enclosure of the city) towards the sea, and the Romans had then no territory on the other side of the Tiber.

163. *vix jugera bina*] To soldiers who had served their time and were discharged (emeriti) a bounty was given either in money or in

land. When it was in land the quantity commonly given was two 'jugera' to each man, that is, about an acre and a quarter. This was believed to have been the original allotment of land to citizens by Romulus, and it was retained in the formation of colonies to a late period. As to 'Molossos,' see note on xii. 108. Pyrrhus he calls 'immanis' by way of amplifying. His name never was to the Romans what Hannibal's became. 'Tandem — multis — vix' are all thrown in to strengthen the case.

166. *Curta fides patriae.*] This means a scant, shabby discharge of the promise. It makes no material difference if we render 'curta' as a participle, which in fact it is: "nor did their country appear ungrateful or their promise curtailed," that is, of its full accomplishment. 'Gleba' is used for a farm commonly in the law writers. 'Saturabat' is a strong word. They were rewarded to their hearts' content.

168. *unus Vernula, tres domini;*] The slave played with the man's sons, who are called 'domini,' as appears to have been common. Their grown-up brothers come home from ditching or ploughing, and get a late supper after the others have done (altera coena) of porridge smoking hot in great earthen pots. Juvenal shows great power in these pictures of rude life. Pictures they are, and very complete. 'Pultibus' is to be taken with 'grandes.' 'Horto' is emphatic. What was enough for their entire subsistence we do not consider enough for a pleasure-garden.

174. *ferro grassatur*] 'Grassor' is only another form of 'gradior,' and properly means no more than 'to go.' But it is commonly used where violence is meant. To go with the sword is to use it. See iii. 305, 'grassator.'

175. *saeva cupido*] Horace always uses 'cupido' in the masculine gender when he is speaking of the love of money.

178. *properantis avari?*] Solomon says in his Proverbs, "He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye" (xxviii. 22). As to 'metus,' see above, verse 96, n.

180. *Marsus dicebat et Hernicus*] These were all of that stock, the Sabellian, which was proverbial for the severity and simplicity of their way of living. The Vestini reached from the Sabini to the coast of the Hadriatic, including all the country between the rivers Vomanus and Aternus.

183. *gratae post munus aristae*] 'After the welcome gift of corn, man despised the old oak that once fed him with acorns.' 'Ope' means the instruments they gave to men, and 'auxilio' is their help, teaching, favor.

186. *perone tegi;*] 'Pero' was a thick boot worn by countrymen. It came a little above the ankle. 'Summovere' is a word used for summary ejectment by the lictors, and there is meaning in the use of it here. See i. 37. He puts on a skin with the hair inwards and then bids the cold wind begone. He says that outlandish purple we hear of, whatever it may be, leads only to crime and impiety. Phoenician, Laconian, and African purples were most esteemed.

191. *Accipe ceras,*] The father of the present day makes his son get up in the middle of the night in winter, and bids him write, plead,

study hard at the law, or petition for a centurion's command, any thing to get money. The titles and first few words of the laws were commonly written with red, called 'rubrica,' from which are derived our word 'rubric' and the use of rubrics. 'Libellus' is a petition. 'Vitem' is the vine-switch used for military floggings (viii. 247, n.), and which he wishes the right to use. The 'tribunus' was the only officer who had the authority to order a military flogging, but the inferior officers sometimes inflicted the cane summarily.

194. *Sed caput intactum buxo*] 'Buxo' is here put for a comb of box-wood. The man tells his son he must let his hair grow wild and let the officer see that he is a rough, shaggy fellow. Laelius is put for the commander of the troops to whom his petition, if he presented one, would be referred.

196. *Dirue Maurorum attegias,*] 'Attegia' Forcellini supposes to be an African word. It is a hut. The Brigantes were a British people occupying the north of England from Mancunium (Manchester) on the south-west to Segedunum (Shields) on the north-east. Their chief town was Eboracum (York). Tacitus speaks of the Brigantes as being the largest tribe in Britain. They also occupied the hill-country of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in which they had probably many of the 'castella' Juvenal mentions. They gave a good deal of trouble to Agricola, and it appears they were not quiet when this satire was written. The date cannot, however, be fixed.

197. *Ut locupletem aquilam*] The 'primipilus centurio' (x. 94, n.) had charge of the eagle of the legion, and was above other centurions in rank and pay. The promotion of the centurions was slow; they rose from the lowest grade to the highest by rotation, except in cases of extraordinary merit. The ten cohorts of the legio consisted of thirty 'manipuli,' and in each 'manipulus' there were two centurions. The 'decima cohors' was the lowest, and the centurions in that were at the bottom of the list. The title 'primipilus' continued after the division of the legion which gave rise to it was discontinued.

199. *solvunt tibi cornua ventrem*] The 'cornu' and 'lituus' are commonly opposed. They were both curved, and the 'lituus' was used by the cavalry. 'Pluris dimidio' is a common way of speaking, like the little frog's answer to her mother, "major dimidio" (Hor. S. ii. 3. 318).

201. *nec te fastidia mercis*] This is explained by what follows. The man says to his son "don't turn up your nose at any kind of wares though they have to be sent beyond the Tiber, or think it necessary to make any difference between perfumes and hides." Tanning and other work of an offensive kind was carried on beyond the river.

204. *Lucri bonus est odor*] The ancients tried metal by the smell.

206. *dis atque ipso Jove digna poetae:*] This way of speaking, where a general term is followed by a particular which is involved in it, is very common in Greek and Latin. It is uncertain what poet Juvenal gets his verse from or whether he gives the words of the poet or adapts them. It has been attributed to Ennius, who is said to have taken the sentiment from Euripides.

212. *meliorem praesto magistro*] 'Praesto' is 'I warrant,' and 'fore' may be supplied after 'meliorem.' He says to the father he need not be in a hurry; he may go away and make himself easy; his son is certain to turn out a good scholar and surpass his teacher as far as Ajax surpassed his father Telamon, and Achilles Peleus. He adds sarcastically, "you must not press the young mind; his marrow is not yet thoroughly saturated with the atrocities of matured vice; when he comes to man's estate he will be ripe for all that is wicked." The expression 'nondum implevere medullas' is something like that in the book of Job (xx. 11): "His bones are full of the sin of his youth."

220. *Elatam jam crede nurum,*] "You may consider your daughter-in-law as good as dead and buried if she brings your son a large portion." Except under special agreement before marriage the wife's 'dos' went back to her relations at her death. Here the man must secure an interest in the property at his wife's death, or it would be against his interest to murder her. Notice the plural in 'vestra.' 'Quibus digitis!' is expressive: 'with what fingers!' We can almost see the man clutching his wife's throat.

225. *Mandavi,*] 'Man-dare' is used here like 'tra-dere' for teaching (see above, verse 3, n.).

228. *pueros producit avaros,*] 'Producere' is here to educate. The change of tense from 'praecepit' should be observed, as denoting a course of training on a principle once laid down. The next line is omitted in some MSS., but not in the best. It has no grammatical connection with the sentence; either therefore another line has been lost or this is the work of an interpolator who forgot to finish the mischief he had begun. The language in 230, sqq., is taken, as is manifest, from the chariot races.

231. *quem si revoces*] The antecedent to 'quem' is easily supplied by substituting 'juveni' for 'curriculo.' The chariot represents the son, who is the real subject of the sentence. So immediately below (verse 241) for an antecedent to 'quorum,' 'Thebanos' must be substituted for 'Thebas,' which is the same thing, as 'civitas' is equivalent sometimes to 'cives,' πόλις to πολῖται, and so forth. The change of person in 'revoces' only makes the sentence more pointed. 'Nescit' is used as Horace and others use 'nescius.' 'Revoces' is in the subjunctive of a general condition; A. 59, 5, *a*. 'Permittas' is the subjunctive by attraction; A. 66, 2. Neither construction is unusual.

234. *adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.*] 'Adeo' belongs to 'indulgent;' "so determined are they to take a wider indulgence without asking your leave" (ipsi). With 'stultum' in the next verse we must supply 'esse eum.'

237. *et circumscribere*] See x. 222. Before 'quantus,' 'tantus' must be supplied. See note on x. 13. As to the Decii, see viii. 254, n. Menoeceus the son of Creon was said to have sacrificed himself when Thebes was besieged by the seven chiefs. Teiresias the seer prophesied that if he did so the Thebans would gain the victory. Juvenal likes a stroke at Greek history (see x. 174); he therefore goes out of his way, and having spoken of Thebes he adds the legend of Cadmus

sowing the dragon's teeth from which the Thebans sprung, and says the soldiers whom this sowing produced fell to fighting straightway as if a trumpeter had been born with them.

244. *Ergo ignem*] A sentence is begun at 'Quum dicis juveni' (235), and the end of it is lost sight of. But the subject is taken up again here, and 'ergo' carries the mind back over the digression (x. 54).

246. *trepidumque magistrum*] "The lion you have reared will loudly roar and kill his trembling keeper in his cage." What follows explains this. 'Que' is sometimes used after negative sentences where an adversative particle might be expected. 'Nec tibi' is 'not even you.'

248. *Nota mathematicis genesis tua:*] "The astrologers have calculated your nativity, you may say, and you are destined to live long. But your son will not wait till your thread is run out; it's tiresome to wait upon the tardy distaff; you'll die before the thread is broken off." See iii. 27, n. 'Jam nunc' is even at this moment you are in his way. This makes the matter very pressing, and is a humorous way of bringing it home to the man. He must almost feel the poison in his stomach. To keep up the effect, he tells him to make all haste and go to the doctor and get an antidote. Mithridates VI., king of Pontus, was in the habit of taking antidotes, and had so fortified his constitution by their means that when he wished to poison himself he could not, and was obliged to get a soldier to kill him. As to Archigenes the physician, see xiii. 98.

251. *longa et cervina senectus.*] As to the age of stags Pliny refers (but does not give credit) to a statement of Hesiod in which he attributes to the raven nine lives of man, to the stag four times the raven's, and to the crow three times the stag's. To man he gives 96 years; so the stag, as Sir Thomas Browne observes, has a life of 3456 years, "a conceit hard to be made out," he adds. Aristotle denies the longevity of the animal, and Browne allows it 36 or 40 years, and "thereby it will exceed all cornigerous animals" (Vulgar Errors, iii. 9).

254. *Atque alias tractare rosas.*] This represents the spring, as the figs indicate the autumn. 'Atque' is 'and even.'

255. *et pater et rex.*] While Mithridates was laying plans for the recovery of Pontus which Cn. Pompeius had taken from him, a conspiracy was formed against him by his son and heir Pharnaces. The army abandoned the king and supported his son, which led Mithridates to destroy himself. Whether Juvenal had this in mind or not I am not sure. What he says amounts to this, that fathers equally with kings should take drugs before their meals lest they be poisoned.

256. *Monstro voluptatem egregiam*] This is addressed to the reader. He says it is better than a play to watch these people getting money. On 'pulpita,' see iii. 174, n., and on 'lauti,' see xi. 1. 'Constent' means 'they cost.' As to 'arca,' see note on x. 25. 'Aerata' is 'bound with bronze.' The temple of Castor was in the Forum Romanum, and near it the bankers had their places of business. They kept the cash-chests of their customers in this temple, where there were sentries. As to 'fiscus,' see iv. 55, n. It is here put for private money, which is not its technical sense. The temple of Mars

Ultor was in the Forum Augusti. He says the people took to keeping their money in Castor's temple ever since Mars the Avenger was robbed of his helmet, and showed he couldn't take care of his own property. It is not known what act of sacrilege Juvenal is alluding to. No doubt it was well understood.

262. *Ergo omnia Florae*] As to the Megalesia or festival of Cybele, see xi. 193; they were celebrated in the early part of April. The Floralia were celebrated at the end of the same month, and were attended with very wanton exhibitions. The Cerealia also were held in April, and lasted one day. There were plays acted at all these festivals, and that is the meaning of 'aulaea.'

265. *jactata petauro Corpora*] 'Petaurum' is a Greek word *πέδαυρον*, equivalent to *μετέωρον*, 'up in the air.' It appears to mean a stage from which persons took flying leaps. There was a spring perhaps which helped the jumper, and explains 'jactata corpora' in this place. In some cases a wheel was used, on the opposite sides of which two persons hung, it would seem, and as the wheel went round one went up and the other down. The 'rectus funis' is the tight rope. 'Funambuli' or *σχοινοβάται*, as the Greeks called them (iii. 77), carried their art to great perfection at Rome.

267. *Corycia semper qui puppe*] Corycia is put for Cilician, Corycus being a promontory of Cilicia. Among the products of that country largely exported to Rome was saffron. This explains 'sacci olentis,' the sweet-smelling bag. Corus and Auster are storm winds.

271. *Passum et municipes Jovis*] 'Passum' was 'raisin wine,' for which Crete was famous. The name is derived from 'pando,' because the grapes were spread out to dry. The Cretans had a Zeus of their own. Rhea, to save the child she was ready to give birth to from his father Cronos, hid herself in a cave of Mount Dicte or Ida in Crete, with which island the early years of Zeus are commonly connected (see xiii. 41). The wine-jars therefore are said to be countrymen of Jove's, as the 'siluri' are called 'municipes' of Crispinus (iv. 33).

272. *Hic tamen*] That is, the 'funambulus.' The merchant follows his rash trade to get a great deal of money and a great many houses, while the other follows his to keep out cold and hunger. 'Es' must be understood after 'temerarius.'

276. *plenum magnis trabibus mare;*] 'Trabs' is sometimes used for a ship. Juvenal says there are more men at sea than on shore. The use of the comparative where one branch of the comparison is not expressed is common. The Carpathian sea was named from the island Carpathos directly between Rhodes and Crete. Gaetulia bordered on the Atlantic and not on the Mediterranean; but 'Gaetuli' is commonly used for the Africans, and here 'Gaetula aequora' is put loosely for the African waters of the Mediterranean. Mons Calpe is the present Rock of Gibraltar. Juvenal says this multitude of ships will pass the pillars of Hercules (of which Calpe was one and Abyla on the African coast was the other) and hear the sun hissing as he sets in the western waters. The final vowel in 'Calpe' is short, though it represents the Greek Κάλπη.

281. *Grande operae pretium*] This is a common expression. See xii. 127. As to 'follis,' see xiii. 61, n. 'Aluta' is prepared leather. In vii. 192 it is used for a shoe. Here it means a leathern purse, and 'tumida' and 'tenso' mean that it is well filled. The name is from 'alumen' (alum), in which it was steeped to soften it. 'Juvenes marinos' are the Tritons and Nereids. 'Vidisse' depends on 'superbus' by a poetical construction. Compare M. 391; Z. 598.

284. *Non unus mentes agitat furor.*] He goes back to what he said in verse 136, that avarice is madness. Some are mad one way and some another. Orestes was driven mad by the Erinnyes of his mother, and Ajax was mad when he flogged the beasts and thought he was listening to the cries of Agamemnon and Ulysses. 'Eumenidum' belongs to both 'vultu' and 'igni.'

287. *Parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,*] Though he does not tear his clothes, the man who tempts the sea for gain is mad and wants a guardian. 'Curator' is the technical name for the guardian of an insane person. As to 'tabula distinguitur unda,' see xii. 58. He describes money as silver engraved with inscriptions and miniatures.

290. *hujus*] 'such as this.' See xiii. 103, n.

293. *piperisve coempti;*] The ancients got their pepper from India probably through Syria.

294. *nil fascia nigra minatur;*] 'Fascia' is a bandage, and the Scholiast explains it here as "nubes ducta per caelum." It is nowhere else used in any such sense, but it is easily understood. The man is so eager to be off on his voyage that he does not mind the threatening sky, and says it is only summer thunder. Perhaps the same night his ship goes to pieces, and he has to swim for his life, with his money bags in his left hand and in his mouth. A purse was called 'zona' from being carried in the girdle.

298. *Sed cujus votis modo non*] 'Sed' seems to mean 'but more than this.' One day saw the man with grand expectations, the next day saw him a beggar.

299. *Quod Tagus*] See iii. 54–5. The Pactolus was in Lydia. The pictures of their wreck which were hung up by those who could afford it in the temples (xii. 27, n.) were carried about by others to excite pity and get alms. With 'sufficient' we must supply 'ei' as an antecedent for 'cujus' (298).

306. *Servorum noctu Licinus jubet,*] As to this man, see i. 109, n.: "Pallante et Licinis." This man posted a whole regiment of slaves about his house with buckets (hămis) for fear of fire. 'Attonitus' is only a stronger word for 'territus,' he was wild with fear for his fine things. It is used in the same way above, xii. 21. As to 'electrum,' see v. 38; 'signis,' viii. 110; 'Phrygiaque columna,' above, 89; 'ebur,' xi. 123, sqq.; 'testudine,' xi. 95.

308. *Dolia nudi Non ardent Cynici:*] He says the Cynic's tub does not take fire. This is Diogenes. He calls him 'nudus' because he wore no tunic. See note on xiii. 122. The 'dolium' was made of clay. If any one broke it, he could make another next day, or patch the old one with lead.

311. *Sensit Alexander,*] The story of Alexander's interview with Diogenes, and how the Cynic asked him not to stand between him and the sun, is known to every schoolboy. The verbs in verse 314 are in the subjunctive by attraction. The verb of which 'hic' is the subject must be supplied in the subjunctive of an indirect question.

315. *Nullum numen abest*] These words are repeated from x. 365. 'In quantum' means no more than 'quantum:' it is 'to whatever lengths.' As to Epicurus, see xiii. 123, n. He died about 130 years after Socrates. The modesty of Socrates's wants is well known from the Memorabilia of Xenophon and from the Clouds of Aristophanes, who made it a matter of ridicule.

321. *Sapientia*] Nature, which the Stoics professed to follow as their guide, never differs from Sapientia or philosophy. See xiii. 20.

322. *videor te claudere:*] He says "perhaps I seem to confine you by too rigid examples; well, then, mix a little of modern life with theirs; go as far as the amount Otho fixed for the census of an eques; or if this is not enough, if this makes you frown and pout your lip, take the worth of two equites or even three; make up a third 400,000;" 'millia' is to be supplied. All this is explained on iii. 154.

327. *Si nondum implevi gremium,*] 'Gremium' is so used in vii. 215; it is the fold of the toga in which the purse was commonly carried. Narcissus was the chief favorite of Claudius Caesar. He made a fortune of more than 100,000,000 sesterces (about $4,000,000). It was he and not Claudius who ordered the death of Messalina (see x. 339, n.). Claudius was little more than a cipher in his own court.

SATIRE XV.

THIS satire must have been written after Juvenal's residence in Egypt. Under what circumstances he went to that country there is not sufficient authority for saying with any certainty. In verse 27 there is an allusion which gives fair ground for supposing that the poem was written in the reign of Hadrian about A.D. 120 (see note). It turns upon a case said to have happened not long before. This story gives occasion for a good deal of strong contemptuous writing against the Egyptians, with a vivid description of a very savage scene, set off by some fine lines on the more tender instincts of human nature, and the ties of sympathy that unite mankind. It seems as if the story, whether true or not, had been repeated to Juvenal and had called up all the prejudices which a residence among these people had created in his mind. His power in sketching scenes from real life has been often seen in the course of these satires. The person to whom the satire is addressed is unknown.

ARGUMENT. — All know, my friend, what kind of gods Egypt worships; crocodiles, the ibis, apes, even cats, river-fish, and dogs. They may not eat onions or sheep, but human flesh they may. When Ulysses told such a story, it seemed more incredible than all his other tales; but that of which I tell was done publicly not long ago (1–32). The people of Ombi worship the crocodile; the people of Tentyra wage war on them for this. They surprise them as they are keeping holiday, and attack them first with abuse, then with fists; all this is child's play; then they throw stones such as men can lift in these degenerate days; what must the gods think of us (33–71)! Part of the Ombites fly; the Tentyrites pursue. One of the Ombites falls; the enemy cut him up and eat him raw, without stopping to profane fire. They never had a pleasanter meal; even the blood they scrape up and lick from their fingers (72–92). In the extremity of famine, the Vascones once did a deed like this. We pardon them. They could not have been Stoics then; now Gaul and Britain are learned nations. But Egypt was more savage than those who offer human sacrifice. What could have led this people to their crime? No barbarous nation ever acted so cruelly as this useless cowardly herd (93–131). Nature has given men soft hearts and bidden them to weep. We differ from beasts in having sympathy which leads us to dwell together, to stand by each other, and to help the fallen. But now snakes and wild beasts are more harmonious than we; men are not content to kill, they must eat each other. What would Pythagoras say if he should see us (131–174)?

2. *Crocodilon adorat*] Herodotus mentions particularly the people of Thebes and those who lived near the lake Moeris as worshippers of the crocodile, while the people of the island Elephantine (near Syene) did not think it sacred, and even ate the flesh. The town, which after the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus bore the name Arsinoe, in ancient times was called the city of crocodiles. Herodotus describes the ibis, and he says the Egyptians honored it because it destroyed the flying snakes that came over from Arabia, and it came to be generally believed that this bird fed upon snakes. But the ibis is not capable of eating snakes, and this is as fabulous as the winged snakes themselves. It is supposed the Egyptians reverenced this bird because it came to the country about the time of the rising of the Nile. It was not a native of Egypt. There are mummies of the ibis, and it is very common on Egyptian monuments. Its worship was universal in Egypt. 'Adorat' seems to be used comically of that which is repulsive, and 'pavet' of that which is harmless.

4. *cercopitheci*] The cynocephalus or dog-headed ape was sacred to Thoth, the god of letters, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. He was worshipped in particular at Hermopolis in Middle Egypt. The cercopithecus was a long-tailed ape (κέρκος, πίθηκος), and such have been found embalmed.

5. *Dimidio magicae resonant*] The most remarkable remains of Thebes on the western side of the Nile are two seated colossal figures. One is covered with ancient inscriptions cut by visitors, which show it

to be the famous statue of Memnon, from which it was believed that sounds proceeded at the rising of the sun produced by the impression of his rays. Strabo mentions them, but says that part of one had fallen owing to an earthquake, and that from the part that remained in its place a sound such as might proceed from a blow was heard once a day. He himself heard it, and where it came from he professes to be ignorant, but he is not inclined to believe it issued from the stone. Pausanias, who visited the statue, found it broken as Strabo described it, and says it was supposed to have been broken by Cambyses. He compares the sound to the snapping of a harp-string. Strabo wrote during the life of our Saviour, Pausanias at least a hundred and fifty years after Strabo. Juvenal may have seen the statue about half a century before Pausanias. In his time, however, the statue which has since been restored was mutilated, which is the meaning of 'dimidio,' as below, verse 56, "vultus Dimidios," and viii. 4, "Curios jam dimidios." 'Magicae chordae' implies that Pausanias described the sound according to popular notions. It is generally supposed to have been a trick of the priests executed by some simple mechanical contrivance. The statue supposed to be that of Memnon shows evident marks of having been restored, the body from the waist upwards being of several pieces and of a different stone from the legs and pedestal, which are a monolith. When this restoration took place is unknown. It is attributed by Heeren to Septimius Severus, who restored some of the Egyptian monuments. His reign was from A.D. 193 to 211. The height is about fifty feet, and that of the pedestal six feet. Memnon, the son of Eos and Tithonus, was a Greek adaptation from the name of several Egyptian kings, Phamenoth or Amenophth. The priests' jugglery may have arisen out of the fabulous birth the Greeks attributed to Memnon as son of the morning.

6. *Atque vetus Thebe*] The notion that ancient Thebes had a hundred gates was derived from Homer, and was received like other poetical fables by the Greeks and Romans without much inquiry. Thebes was perhaps the most ancient town of Egypt, and was originally the metropolis and residence of the kings whose tombs are among the astonishing ruins that remain to this day. The Persians under Cambyses about B.C. 520 pillaged and partly destroyed the temples and burnt the private dwellings. Its downfall was completed about B.C. 85, when, the inhabitants having revolted from Ptolemy Lathyrus, it was taken after a three years' siege and pillaged. Strabo describes it as in his day a city of ruins covering a space of eighty stadia (ten miles) in circuit, while the inhabitants occupied, as they do still, a few villages on each side of the river. The effect of the ruins is usually described as overpowering. One sentence of Belzoni's expresses this effect: "It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who after a long conflict were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proof of their former existence."

7. *Illic aeluros,*] 'Aelurus' is the Greek word for a cat (αἴλουρος). This animal was chiefly worshipped in the city of Bubastis on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It was sacred to the goddess Pasht, cor-

rupted by the Greeks into Bubastis, and identified by them with Artemis. Diodorus tells an anecdote of a Roman soldier accidentally killing a cat and being put to death by the populace in a state of great excitement, so that neither the remonstrances of their magistrates nor fear of the Romans could prevent them from this abominable murder. Wilkinson says it is considered by many of the modern Egyptians wrong to kill cats or to ill-treat them. Dogs they now count unclean. Herodotus mentions the eel and a scaly fish of the Nile which he calls λεπιδωτὸς as held sacred by the Egyptians. A still more general object of reverence was the oxyrhynchus (mentioned below on verse 35), which gave its name to a town between Memphis and Thebes. According to Plutarch, the priests abstained from fish of every kind. Small mummy fish have been found in tombs, according to the Arabian traveller (of the 12th century) Abdallatif, who also found skeletons of dogs, which Herodotus says were buried in sacred tombs in the various cities of Egypt. Dog mummies have been found, and there is a head of one in the British Museum. A dog's head was generally said to be the symbol of Anubis, who was particularly worshipped at Cynopolis. The Artemis represented by Bubastis may not have been that goddess who was most commonly worshipped in Greece, and who was the goddess among other things of the chase. It is probable Juvenal did not think about Bubastis and Artemis. He only thought of his point, that the Egyptians worshipped the beast and not the huntress-goddess to whom it belonged.

9. *Porrum et caepe nefas*] See below, verse 174. The doctrines of Pythagoras are supposed to have been in part derived from the Egyptians, whose objection to eating leeks and onions is mentioned by several ancient authors.

10. *quibus haec nascuntur*] 'Haec' is ironical, 'such gods as these.' Above (xiii. 103) we have 'solet his ignoscere,' 'he is wont to pardon such offences as these.' In verse 65 below we have 'hunc lapidem,' 'such a stone as this.'

11. *Lanatis animalibus*] According to Herodotus the inhabitants of the Theban nome abstained from eating sheep, though they ate goats, while the opposite practice prevailed at Mendes (in the Delta), where they ate sheep and abstained from goats. The cannibalism imputed to the Egyptians is fabulous, though Diodorus says that on the occasion of a great famine human flesh was eaten (see verse 93, sqq.).

15. *Alcinoo,*] When Ulysses left the island of Calypso (Ogygia) by himself on a raft which she taught him to build, he was carried to the island Scheria, inhabited by the Phaeacians, whose king was Alcinous. He was hospitably entertained by the king, and at a banquet told his adventures. Juvenal says that when Ulysses told wonderful stories (such as he is going to tell) to Alcinous and his party, though some took them in with astonishment, a few who had not drunk very deep no doubt treated him as an impostor, and would have handled him roughly for thinking so meanly of their understandings. The Greeks used ἴσως as Juvenal uses 'fortasse' for a thing that is pretty certain. 'Moverat' seems to mean that while Alcinous was listening open-

mouthed, others had long made up their minds that the man was imposing on them. 'Aretalogi' were jesters employed by the rich to amuse them at their meals with mock philosophical discussions.

17. *Hunc abicit,*] The use of the tense is like that in iii. 296, where see note.

19. *Nam citius Scyllam*] The speaker says he might perhaps more readily swallow his stories about the rocks and the winds and his crew turned to pigs, though these are mere lies (as he implies in verse 17). But did he think the Phaeacians such fools as to believe about the giants that ate men?

20. *Cyanea,*] If the reading is right, the caesura and two consonants following will account for the 'a' being long. See A. & S. 283, IV., Exc. 2, R. 3; B. 1427. The rocks Juvenal means are the Symplegades at the entrance of the Thracian Bosporus from the Euxine Sea. But he has confounded these with other rocks in the Sicilian Sea, which Circe advised Ulysses to avoid. Homer calls them Πλαγκταί, 'the Wanderers,' for the same reason that the others are called Συμπληγάδες, 'concurrentia saxa.' When Ulysses was leaving the island of Aeolus, the king gave him a leathern bag containing all the winds. His companions let them out of the bag, and the consequences were disastrous. Elpenor was one of the companions of Ulysses. Homer does not tell us that he was one of those whom Circe turned with a stroke of her light rod into swine; he says (Od. x. 552, sqq.) that he fell from the loft in Circe's house and broke his neck.

25. *De Corcyraea temetum*] The Phaeacia of Homer, which is a fabulous place, was identified in after times with Corcyra. 'Temetum' is an old word for wine. 'Minimum' is used adverbially.

26. *Solus enim hoc Ithacus*] His companions had all perished, and he came alone to the land of the Phaeacians. He says Ulysses might justly be suspected of lying, for he could not prove his story by any testimony but his own; whereas what he is going to tell was a public thing that happened only the other day.

27. *nuper Consule Junio*] The consul referred to is either Appius Junius Sabinus in the reign of Domitian, A.D. 84, or, more probably, Q. Junius Rusticus in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 119. 'Nuper' does not fix the time within a few years. The sounding of 'Junio' as two syllables by synizesis is a common license.

28. *moenia Copti,*] Coptos was a town about ten miles north of Thebes. 'Super' means higher up the river.

29. *Nos vulgi scelus*] He says he is going to tell of an outrage committed by a whole people, and therefore notorious — an outrage worse than any to be found in all the tragedies since the deluge. He first represents tragedy by the 'cothurnus,' the thick-soled boot worn by tragic actors, and the 'syrma,' their train (viii. 229, n.). The deluge of Deucalion and Pyrrha is commonly taken for the beginning of time (i. 81, n.).

33. *vetus atque antiqua simultas,*] 'Vetus' means that the quarrel is of long standing, and 'antiqua' goes back to the origin of it, which was long ago.

35. *Ombos et Tentyra.*] Ombi was about a hundred miles higher up

the river than Tentyra, which was nearly opposite to Coptos on the west side. Thebes lay between them. In Ombi the crocodile was worshipped; in Tentyra they killed and ate it, and so the people fell out. Plutarch tells us that in his day the Oxyrhynchites, who held sacred a fish with a sharp snout, and got their name from it, went to war with the Cynopolites, the dog-worshippers, because these ate the fish, and the others by way of retaliation ate dogs. The MSS. vary in respect to Ombos. The distance between the two places is the stumbling-block, because Juvenal calls them 'finitimi.' This will not decide the question, and the reading of the text is probably right.

37. *Odit uterque locus,*] A true specimen of the odium theologicum. 'Quum credat' is 'because they suppose.'

38. *Sed tempore festo*] 'Sed' is 'but to proceed,' 'but not to dwell on the cause' (see xiii. 135, n., and below, verse 51). He goes on to tell how at a festival of the Ombites, when they were enjoying themselves and drunk, the Tentyrites fell upon them. They came up the river no doubt in swarms, and took them by surprise. The chiefs thought it a good occasion to spoil the enemy's sport. 'Ne sentirent,' etc., shows what their intention was: to prevent their enjoying their holiday, which sometimes lasted seven days and nights, with tables spread in the temples and the streets. It was a religious festival. Juvenal speaks as a Roman when he says 'toro.' A mat would be all that would be used in Egypt between the man and the bare ground. 'Pervigili' means that they went on all night.

44. *Horrida sane Aegyptus;*] What is said is that Egypt is rude enough; and yet in luxurious living the barbarians do not yield to the infamous Canopus. The rudeness seems to be indicated by 'nigro' and 'qualiacunque;' the luxury, by 'tibicine' and 'unguenta.' Canopus (i. 26, n.) was a seaport at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile. It is no contradiction to speak of the barbarians, as he calls them, of Upper Egypt not yielding to Canopus in profligacy. Canopus was at this time full of Romans and other foreigners, and the habits of that place would not represent those of the Egyptians in general.

47. *Adde quod et facilis victoria*] The occasion was a good one for annoying the enemy. 'Madidus,' 'madere,' 'madens,' with or without 'vino,' are common expressions for drunkenness.

48. *Inde virorum Saltatus*] On the one side, there were men dancing to the music of a black flute-player, perfumes (of a certain sort), flowers, and garlands; on the other side (the invading party), nothing but hatred and an empty belly. The perfumes of the Orientals, like their music (see iii. 63, n.), are offensive to the senses of Europeans. The Egyptians had the single and double flutes like those of the Greeks and Romans, but much longer. They were played by women more commonly than men. Dancing was usual on religious occasions, and men as well as women joined.

51. *Sed jurgia prima*] 'Sed' is used as above, verse 38. After a description or digression it is common. 'Tuba rixae' is like 'prooemia rixae' in iii. 288. They shout words of abuse, and this is the trumpet that calls to battle. 'Animis ardentibus' is mock heroic, 'with hot courage.'

57. *Dimidios, alias facies*] As to 'dimidios,' see above, verse 5. It does not only mean 'broken off.' There is 'dimidium crus' (xiii. 95) for a broken leg. 'Alias facies' is 'altered faces.' On 'aspiceres,' see A. 60, 2, *a*; M. 350, 370; H. 486, III., 4; B. 1278. 'Calcent' shows that this is the reason which they would have given.

61. *Et sane quo tot rixantis*] "The people think this is only child's play, and they are right; for what is the use of such thousands of fighters if none of them are killed?" There is humor in this. 'Quo' is used as several times before. See references on viii. 9. 'Millia' is accusative; we may supply 'habent' or 'parant.' 'Saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis' expresses the way in which they stoop to pick up the stones while they keep an eye upon the enemy all the time. Stones he says are the usual weapons for squabbles where townspeople fall out among themselves. 'Domestica' means such as they were familiar with. Virgil tells us how Turnus threw a huge rock at Aeneas. Homer says that Ajax threw a great stone at Hector, and Diomed, as Juvenal says, hit Aeneas on the hip with a stone that a couple of men of unheroic days could not lift. Homer lived probably not many generations after the Trojan war. The race of giants was growing less even in his day ('vivo jam Homero'). But the strong men before Troy were nothing to those Nestor knew in his youth, and so it goes on. The past is seen through a mist, and all things gone must needs be greater and better than the present. But men and things are much what they have been and always will be. He says men of this day are both wicked and feeble; so the gods, or whichever of the gods takes the trouble to look at men, both laugh at them and hate them. 'Quicunque aspexit' is contemptuous and Epicurean. The difference in tense in 'percussit' and 'valeant' explains itself; the former is indicative because it declares a fact, the latter is subjunctive because it belongs to a description. See A. 65, 2; M. 364, obs. 1.

72. *A diverticulo repetatur fabula.*] "After this digression we may go back to our story." He might have expressed this more shortly by 'sed' (verse 38, 51) or 'ergo' (x. 54). 'Pars altera' is the Tentyrites, who with a reinforcement put the Ombites to flight. It appears from this place that by Tentyra there was a grove of palms, no uncommon thing; but this grove was perhaps an uncommon one. 'Hinc' is 'on this side;' that is, among the fugitives, as the context shows.

82. *Aut verubus;*] We must supply 'torruit,' which is implied by zeugma in 'decoxit.' 'Usque adeo' belongs to both adjectives, 'so very tedious and slow.'

84. *Hic gaudere libet*] "Here we may rejoice that they did not desecrate that fire which Prometheus stole from heaven and gave to earth. I congratulate the element on its escape, and I dare say you rejoice too." He is addressing his friend. This element has from the earliest times been respected as a beneficial agent and as the symbol of the divine attributes and of the life of man. The Persians worshipped it, and their descendants the Parsees do so still. But Juvenal is only writing sarcastically.

87. *Sed qui mordere cadaver*] 'Sed' is, as before, a way of carrying on a subject after a digression. As to 'sustinuit,' see xiv. 127, n.

'Whoever had the heart to taste the carcass never ate any meat with greater relish.' 'Qui' implies that every one who tasted was pleased, as 'nam' shows; "for you are not in a crime so great to hesitate and ask whether it was only the first palate that was sensible of pleasure. Nay, the very last man, who stopped behind after the whole body was eaten up, scraped the bloody earth with his fingers and licked them." It is a horrid story.

93. *Vascones, haec fama est,*] The territory of the Vascones lay where now is the province of Navarre. After the murder of Sertorius, B.C. 72, many of the towns in Hispania which had taken part with him against Cn. Pompeius and Q. Metellus Pius held out, and were besieged by those commanders or their legati. Among the rest was Calagurris Nassica, a town on the right bank of the Iberus. After having been unsuccessfully besieged during the life of Sertorius, it was attacked again after his death by L. Afranius, the legatus of Pompeius. The inhabitants of this city resisted the siege to such extremities that they were reduced to eating each other. This obstinate resistance seems to have made a great impression on the Romans.

94. *sed res diversa, sed illic*] Juvenal says in the case of the Vascones the circumstances were different; it was the malice of Fortune and the extremities of war that drove them to this horrid act. 'Bellorum ultima' is like "discriminis ultima" (xii. 55). The Greeks commonly used ἔσχατα in the same way.

97. *Hujus enim quod nunc agitur*] "The case is different, for this sort of food of which I am now speaking (that to which men are reduced by a siege) ought to excite pity; as for instance the people I have just mentioned," etc. 'Hujus exemplum cibi' stands where we should expect 'hoc exemplum.' 'Exemplum' is the antecedent of 'quod.' He had heard less of the siege of Jerusalem or he might have found plenty of like horrors there. In the place where he wrote the same scenes were enacted three centuries later. See Gibbon's account of the first siege of Rome by the Goths (c. 31).

107. *Zenonis praecepta monent;*] Juvenal says (xiii. 121) that he has never read the doctrines of the Stoics and others. But he rightly represents them here. The sacrifice of life to duty was a rule they always taught, and they professed no such love of life or fear of death as would lead to the neglect of the first principles of natural affection. But it does not follow that they might not have advised the holding of a town at any cost against an enemy with the chivalrous motive attributed to the people of Calagurris. 'Nec enim' is equivalent to 'etsi enim non.' He calls them Cantabri without strict accuracy. The Cantabri lay between the Pyrenees and the sea, farther west than the Vascones, who were south of the mountains. As to Metellus, see note on verse 93. He calls him 'antiquus,' because every thing was antiquated that was before the time of the empire.

110. *Nunc totus Graias*] He says it is different now, for all the world has the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome. He calls Rome 'our Athens.' Their spirit and their institutions were their own; their taste and philosophy the Romans got from Greece, and

by their conquests these were propagated where Greece would otherwise never have been known. The Thule of geographers was the largest of the Shetland Islands. He says they were talking of hiring a master of rhetoric there. Mercatores had no doubt found their way to Thule; but the Romans never took possession of that island. There is another Thule, which is only known from fabulous reports. But it was probably part of the mainland of Europe, much to the north of Britain.

113. *Nobilis ille tamen populus*] "However, though that noble people we have spoken of (the Vascones) were no Stoics and had none of our learning, they and the Saguntines, their equals in courage and fidelity and worse in their sufferings, had excuse for any such conduct." Saguntus is a form of Ζάκυνθος, from which island (Zante) the colony originally came. The form Saguntus is not so common as Saguntum. It was a town on the east coast of Hispania, a mile from the sea. It was in close alliance with the Romans at the time when Hannibal was appointed to command the armies of Carthage in Hispania, and he made it one of his first objects to pick a quarrel with the Saguntines and lay siege to the town, which he took after a siege of eight months, B.C. 219. When the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity and hard terms of peace were brought them, some of the leading men, without any warning to the others, left the senate-house, brought together all the silver and gold they could collect, and made a fire in the market-place into which they threw the treasures and themselves. When Hannibal entered the town, he ordered all the males of full age to be put to death. All the writers attribute their gallant conduct to their fidelity to Rome. 'Saguntina fames' came to be a proverb among the Romans as λιμὸς Μήλιος among the Greeks from the siege of Melos by the Athenians.

115. *Maeotide saevior ara*] The legend respecting the Tauri who sacrificed to their goddess all strangers that came to their country is most popularly known through Euripides's play, Iphigenia in Tauris, which turns upon the recognition of Iphigenia and her brother Orestes, she being the priestess of the goddess and he a stranger brought to be sacrificed. The Tauri inhabited the Chersonesus which bore their name (the Crimea). All the barbarous tribes on the borders of the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) were called Maeotae. 'Illa Taurica' is that Tauric goddess; the Greeks called her Artemis. 'Ut jam' is 'supposing only;' 'jam' gives emphasis to 'ut.' It is the particle most nearly resembling the Greek δὴ in its commonest uses. Compare Z. 286.

119. *Quis modo casus Impulit hos?*] 'Modo' gives emphasis to 'quis,' like τίς ποτε; it is "what chance at all drove these Egyptians to their crime? What so great famine, what arms attacking their walls, compelled them to dare so detestable, so monstrous a deed?"

122. *Anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca*] "Could they, if the land of Memphis were all dry, offer greater insult to the Nile because he would not rise?" Till the Persian conquest (B.C. 525) Memphis and Thebes were rivals in importance. Both were of fabulous antiquity.

Memphis was always the chief seat of commerce, while Thebes seems to have been the residence of the kings. Both cities were greatly injured by the conquerors.

124. *Qua nec terribiles Cimbri,*] The threatened invasion of the Cimbri and their destruction by Marius is mentioned in viii. 249, sqq. The Cimbrica Chersonesus is part of the modern kingdom of Denmark, but whether these barbarians came from thence is a difficult question. The Britones are the same here as the Britanni. There can be no doubt that our ancestors are meant, whose human sacrifices gave them a bad name. The Agathyrsi Herodotus describes as persons of delicate habits, who wore gold ornaments and had their wives in common. Herodotus places them at the source of the river Maris, which flows into the Tibiscus, the largest tributary of the Ister. But other writers place them further to the north-east, nearer to the Sauromatae, with whom they are often mentioned. They tattooed their skins and dyed their hair blue. The use of 'nec,' 'que,' and 'aut' as correlative is like the case noticed in xiii. 43, 44, where see note.

126. *rabie imbelle*] A common hiatus.

dare vela phaselis] The ordinary river boats were built of the wood of the acanthus, and were propelled by oars and sails which were made of byblus. These boats were painted red, yellow, or green, and sometimes all those colors, and the sails were composed of squares of different hues. The name given by Herodotus to them was 'baris.' Wilkinson says that the custom of painting their boats "in brilliant and lively colors continued to the latest times, long after the conquest of the country by the Romans; and when the Arabs invaded Egypt in 638 under Amer, the general of the Caliph Omer, one of the objects that struck them with surprise was the gay appearance of the painted boats of the Nile."

131. *Et similes ira atque fames.*] "In whose minds rage and famine are equal and alike;" their rage is as strong as famine in others, and like in its effects.

Mollissima corda] Nothing can be more touching and manly than the verses that follow. Their style is that of nature, and there is no satire so strong as that which brings the pure emotions of nature into contrast with the bad passions and vices of mankind. We come with pleasant surprise upon a sentiment so true and simply expressed after the revolting picture that has gone before. It is a satisfaction to know that this severe satirist could be tender when occasion required, and knew the worth of manly tears.

134. *Plorare ergo jubet*] 'Ergo' means 'she then who has given us tears bids us use them in the expression of sympathy with our suffering fellows.' 'Squalorem' refers to the appearance of mourning, beard unshorn, unwashed toga, and so forth, put on by persons in sorrow or on trial.

135. *pupillum ad jura vocantem*] The proper expression for bringing a man before the court is 'in jus vocare.' 'Circumscribere' is used twice above (x. 222, xiv. 237). When a 'pupillus' came of age, he could bring an action against his 'tutor' for mismanagement of his

property. If the 'tutor' was condemned, the penalty was 'infamia.' Boys wore long hair like girls ('incerta') till they took the 'toga virilis.' This is therefore the case of a 'pupillus' complaining of his 'tutor' during his pupilage. The 'tutor' in such cases was sometimes removed.

140. *Et minor igne rogi.*] That is, 'too little to be burnt.' See reference on iii. 203. It was not usual to burn children who died before they had cut their teeth.

face dignus Arcana,] There were no mysteries at Rome analogous to those of Greece, at which none but the initiated could be present, who were bound by oath to keep secret the mysteries (whatever they were) then made known to them. As every Greek might be initiated if he pleased, the secrecy did not amount to much. Nevertheless it passed into a proverb, and the Romans took it from the Greeks. Ceres represented the Greek Demeter, and the allusion here is to the Eleusinian mysteries, an Attic festival which lasted seven days. On the fifth the initiated carried torches to the temple of the goddess, led by a priest called from his office δᾳδοῦχος. This explains 'face arcana,' and Juvenal says no man would be worthy to join the torch-bearers at the festival of Eleusis who thought himself unconcerned in any of the misfortunes of his neighbors.

143. *venerabile soli Sortiti ingenium,*] 'Venerabile' here, I think, has an active meaning. There is nothing that so distinguishes man from the beasts as his reverence for the divine Being. 'Venerabile ingenium' I take to be a reverential mind. The active meaning of adjectives in 'bilis' is common.

146. *demissum traximus arce,*] 'Trahere' is often used in the various senses of 'ducere.' See note on xii. 8.

149. *Tantum animas, nobis animum*] 'Anima' and 'animus' are essentially the same word, and are used as synonymous by the best writers. But 'anima' more commonly represents the principle of life, and 'animus' the rational mind. That distinction is obvious here. This sense of 'indulgere,' 'to give,' is not, I believe, found in the writers before the empire.

155. *Ut collata daret fiducia,*] "That united confidence might bring us sleep, secured by a neighbor's threshold." Juvenal says the effect of that gift of mind was to lead men, through the affections they have in common, to help one another, to form communities, to quit the woods and live in towns, to fight side by side, and to defend themselves behind the same walls.

159. *Sed jam serpentum major concordia:*] 'But now things are changed and the snakes live more harmoniously than man.'

166. *Produxisse parum est,*] 'Produxisse' here is like 'extendere' below (168); both express the hammering out of iron. Juvenal says it is not enough now for men to forge the sword; though ('quum') the first smiths only knew how to make harrows and hoes and mattocks and shares. The 'sarculum' was a lighter instrument than the 'marra,' but both were for turning the soil. The distinction

in tense and mood between 'sufficit' and 'crediderint' is like that in verses 66, 67; see the note there. As to Pythagoras, see iii. 229; above, verse 9, n. On 'indulsit,' see verse 149, n.

SATIRE XVI.

It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that this is an unfinished poem, and it may well have been a posthumous publication. It has been doubted whether Juvenal ever wrote it; but no imitator who evidently could do well, would have been willing to leave the poem in the condition in which we find it. There does not seem to be sufficient reason for supposing the fragment to be spurious or for thinking that the partial rejection of it in early times proceeded from any other cause than its imperfect character. It is in the form of an epistle, and professes to set forth the advantages of military service, looking at it as a young man might when tired of the restraints of a civilian's life.

Argument. — O Gallus, who can tell the advantages of lucky service? First, no civilian dares assault you; and, if you beat him, he dares not bring you before the praetor. He must refer his case to the centurion; and his revenge will be harder for him than the wrong; witnesses will not dare to testify on his side (1–34). If a civilian has a trouble with his neighbor, he has to wait for all the delays of the law; the soldier gets justice done him at once (35–50). Again, all that the soldier earns is his own; his father has no control over it. The father will court the successful son. For it is for the general's interest that the brave should be lucky and rewarded (51–60).

1. *Quis numerare queat*] The writer asks, "Who can number the advantages of military service if it be successful? As for that, if I can join a fortunate legion, let me enlist and I shall count myself lucky." He speaks as a young man might speak of joining what is called by our soldiers a crack regiment, and like some of our own tyros he can think of nothing more delightful. He is speaking sarcastically. Some of the more distinguished legions bore names of honor, such as Victrix, Felix, Adjutrix, and so forth. This is what he means by 'prospera castra.' A soldier was a 'tiro' till he had seen service and was acquainted with his duties. 'Pavidum' is here only a redundant epithet.

4. *fati valet hora benigni,*] This is Juvenal's ironical style; having mentioned a lucky star, he adds, "for of course the moment of a smiling fate is of more avail than a letter of recommendation to Mars from his wife (or mistress) Venus or his mother Juno." Juno's worship at Samos is well known. Her temple, the Heraeum, was on the coast, it is to the Samian shore that 'arena' refers.

7. *communia,*] That which all soldiers held in common. 'Togatus' is the common word for a civilian. 'Immo' here is affirmative of what precedes, and introduces something more. It is sometimes used negatively according to the nature of the sentence; but its common use is to add some statement, reason, etc., in continuation and support of what goes before. 'Ne' (from which 'ut' must be supplied before 'dissimulet,' M. 462, *b*) seems used to introduce an appositional clause. If so, it must be used for 'ut non.' Compare M. 374; A. 70, 4, *f*; Z. 623. It may be explained in another way, as depending on an idea of hindering to be supplied.

11. *tumidis livoribus offam,*] 'Offa,' which is used for a chop or other piece of meat, here means a swelling from a blow. 'Livoribus' are black contusions. 'Medico nil promittente' means that the doctor cannot warrant that the man will not lose his eye.

13. *Bardaicus judex datur*] 'Judex' is predicate. It is not certain that 'bardaicus' agrees, as many take it, with 'calceus' in this place. I think it may be taken independently. 'Calceus' will in that case be qualified like 'surae' by 'grandes.' 'Calceus' was the general name for a walking shoe or boot as opposed to others worn in the house, or sandals which only covered the sole or were strapped on to the upper part of the foot. Of the latter sort were 'caligae' (verse 24) which were heavy sandals with nails worn by the common soldiers as the 'calceus' was worn by the officers, though sometimes the officers wore 'caligae.' See iii. 321, n. The name 'bardaicus' is said to be derived from the Bardaei, an Illyrian people from whom this sort of military shoe was taken. Juvenal says (according to the above) if a man wishes to punish the soldier who has maltreated him, the judex assigned to him is a 'bardaicus,' a great boot, and a pair of thick calves under a big bench; that is, he must carry his case into the camp, and if he is allowed a trial it will be a court-martial with a centurion for judex. 'Judicem dare' was properly said of the praetor, who could appoint if he pleased a judex privatus to hear a private case at the instance of the plaintiff. It is usual to describe the centurions as stout men. Juvenal speaks here of great benches to match the great legs. All is in the rough way.

15. *more Camilli*] The days of the old discipline when M. Furius Camillus was dictator and besieged Veii (B.C. 393).

17. *Justissima Centurionum*] Juvenal says that the centurions give just judgment against a soldier, and if a man goes before them with a good complaint he will get satisfaction. But he will find the whole camp set against him, and his satisfaction will be worse for him than his wrong. 'Igitur' serves to keep the sentences together: 'Well then the centurion will give just judgment.' When he says 'nec mihi deerit,' he puts himself in the position of an injured civilian, as below, verse 28, "non sollicitemus amicos." 'Deerit' must be read in two syllables. 'Querelae' is the genitive of quality, 'a cause in which the complaint is just.' 'Deferre,' with or without 'nomen,' means to inform against. 'Deferre causam' is not a legal phrase. 'Tota cohors' is put generally for 'tota castra' (verse 2). 'Consensu magno' is ordinary phrase for perfect unanimity.

21. *efficiunt curabilis ut sit*] 'Curabilis' is not found elsewhere. It means that which wants curing. The way of speaking, 'gravior curabilis,' is Greek; the usual Latin would be 'gravius.' The lengthening of the short vowel before the two consonants (22) is not uncommon.

22. *Dignum erit ergo*] "It is a proceeding then worthy of the ranting Vagellius with his stupid hardihood, as long as you have two sound legs, to provoke so many shoes, such thousands of hobnails.' This is explained above on verse 14. Who Vagellius was is not known.

25. *Quis tam procul absit*] "Besides this (he asks) who would come so far from town, who is so fast a friend (such a Pylades) that he will come out to the camp to give evidence for you? We had better dry up our tears forthwith, and not plague our friends who are sure to make excuses, when the judge tells us we must bring witnesses." 'Molem aggeris' is referred to in x. 95, "castra domestica," and mentioned in v. 153, "in aggere rodit," and note. The praetorian camp is here referred to. 'Tam procul' therefore is ironical, for the camp was not above a quarter of a mile from either of the two gates Collina and Esquilina, north-east of the city. A man must be a Pylades to take such a walk for a friend, though the Agger which overlooked the camp was a common promenade. The judex here is the military officer who heard the complaint.

33. *Contra paganum possis*] 'Paganus' after the time of Augustus came to be applied to all civilians as opposed to military men. It may have been first given them by soldiers in the way of contempt, for it belongs properly to the country people. 'Pudorem' is his honor, which the soldier is supposed to prize more than the man of peace. The word is so used in viii. 83.

36. *Sacramentorum.*] 'Sacramentum' was the soldier's oath which he swore by the 'signa' (standards), promising fidelity to his country and his commander. The oath was administered on enlistment. It is used here for military service, and is put in the plural number like 'stipendia,' which means 'campaigns,' that is properly the number of times a soldier has earned pay. So 'sacramenta' would be the number of times he has taken the oath, which as long as he remained with the army would ordinarily be only once, though there were cases in which it was repeated.

Convallem ruris aviti] He says if any man robs him of his land, removes his landmark, or denies his debts, he will have to go through all the law's delays before he can get justice, which is promptly administered in camps. 'Convallis' is said to be properly a valley surrounded on all sides with hills, and 'vallis' one between two ranges. The stone or other boundary by which private property was marked off was sacred. The lands were in the first instance divided by the Agrimensores with religious ceremonies, and offerings were annually made close by them to the god Terminus, whose image was often no more than a shapeless stone. The neighbors met and offered sacrifice jointly at the Terminalia. Cakes of flour and honey (liba) with ground 'far' (puls, xi. 58,) were commonly offered, and by those who could afford it a lamb or young pig was added.

40. *pergit non reddere nummos,*] "Persists in not restoring money deposited with him." This is the offence that gave occasion for S. xiii. The next line is repeated from the 137th of that satire.

42. *qui lites inchoet annus*] "I must wait for some indefinite time that shall even make a beginning of the causes of an entire people." So Heinrich takes it, and I see no better way. 'Annus totius populi' I can make no meaning of. 'Annus' is probably a definite word for an indefinite period. 'Inchoare' is commonly used for such a beginning as is not brought to an end; and 'tunc quoque,' etc., means that no more than a beginning is made or likely to be made.

44. *toties subsellia tantum*] This means that the court was ready, cushions on the seats, and everybody there, but the advocates loitered. The case must therefore wait.

46. *parati Digredimur*] This is the language of the amphitheatre. "Prepared to fight, we are obliged to separate, and the forum is but a slow arena for our combat." 'Balteus' was a belt which went over the shoulder and held the sword. 'Sufflamine' is used in viii. 148 for a drag, and it is here used in that sense figuratively.

51. *testandi militibus jus*] Under the Roman law all that a son acquired who was not free from his father's power by emancipation or death was acquired for his father, and he had no power of making a will. About the time of Augustus an exception was made in favor of money acquired through military service, which was called 'castrense peculium.' Whatever a son had while he was 'in patria potestate' was 'peculium,' and with certain modifications was held on the same terms as a slave's (iii. 189, n.). In the time of Constantine the same privilege that attached to the 'castrense peculium,' or money earned in military service, was extended to money earned in civil offices, which was therefore called 'quasi castrense peculium.' This, as Heinrich says, is an argument in favor of the satire having been written before the time of Constantine, A.D. 306. 'Non esse in corpore census' means that it was not part of the property which was under his father's control. 'Placuit' means only that it is settled law. The legal word for 'regimen' is 'potestas.'

54. *Ergo Coranum Signorum comitem*] Horace (S. ii. 5) refers to the story of one Nasica, a fortune-hunter, who was laughed at by one Coranus. The name Coranus seems to have become proverbial in this connection. This man, because he has got money of his own which he has the power to dispose of, is courted by his own father, trembling with years, in hopes he may survive his rich son yet, and get something by his will. 'Captare' is the common word in this sense.

56. *Hunc labor aequus*] There is no sense in this. Some think 'labor' should be 'favor.' This is the only conjecture that has thrown light on the passage. 'Pulcro labori' is the same as 'labore militiae' above (verse 52). 'Hunc' refers to the former of the two persons, a not uncommon usage.

58. *ducis hoc referre videtur*] This use of the genitive with 'referre' is easily understood by resolving 'referre' into its parts, 'rem ferre.'

where 'rem' is 'the interest' of a person or something which concerns him. Here it is said to be for the interest of the commander himself that he who is brave should also be most fortunate, that all (who deserve them) should be made happy with decorations, which were as much prized by Roman soldiers as by our own. They were conferred in a way to enhance their value. In the presence of all the troops such men as had distinguished themselves by particular acts of gallantry were called up before the Commander-in-chief and by him presented with decorations varying according to their exploits.

60. *Ut laeti phaleris omnes*] 'Phalerae' and 'torques' were nearly alike, 'phalerae' being collars that hung down on the chest, and 'torques' those which fitted close to the neck. The repetition of 'omnes' shows either a corrupt text or an unfinished and uncorrected fragment. No imitator would intentionally write such a verse, much less one who could imitate as well as this writer. I prefer treating it as a fragment abruptly stopping in the middle of a sentence.

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